

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

VOL. IV

MARCH, 1904

NO. 9

Attitude of Japanese Socialists Toward Present War.

THE attitude taken by the Japanese Socialists toward the present war with Russia has been clearly and well defined from the very beginning. They were and still are against war, not only with Russia, but with all other nations. It was perhaps the very first time in the history of Japan that such an anti-war cry was raised in the land of the Samurai and New Japan. But it is a fact that Japanese Socialists boldly and loudly raised their voice against the war.

Some of the comrades employed on one of the largest dailies in the city of Tokio made this a point of honor and left their editorial position for that very cause. Since then I am glad to say that these two comrades, with the aid of some other Socialists, have started a weekly by themselves, through which they have been speaking against the war and in favor of the Universal peace that shall reign under the supremacy of Socialism. And, moreover, this little, but ably edited weekly, promises to be a great success. It shows that Socialists have been voicing the true sentiments of Socialism. They have been, moreover, holding anti-war meetings in and about the city of Tokio. I am informed that they have been very successful in this movement. An admission fee of five cents has furnished a sufficient income to carry on the work. They have to pay for the small hall each time and for advertisements. It shows that Socialists have gained a foothold with the public large enough to support such a movement as this. The very first meeting of the kind, held at the Y. M. C. A. Hall, Tokio, was well attended and was a great success. There were some representatives of the war party who tried to disturb the meeting, but failed entirely. At this success of theirs the press as well as the public were astonished. It was thought that

the Socialists would never dare to hold such a meeting at such a time, because the war fever is at such a height.

I am sure that their attitude on the question is still the same as it was when I left the country, though Japan has entered into war. The Socialists will hold the same position as those of Germany during the Franco-Prussian war. This sentiment was voiced many a time at their late meetings and approved by all the Socialists of Japan.

As to the probable effect of this war on the wakening class-consciousness of Japanese laborers, I can say this much with a greater certainty that working classes will realize more clearly the great evils of war than ever before. Many of them knew by their late experiences in the Chino-Japanese war that the war benefited them practically nothing. It is true that as a result of the late wars Japan's industry has grown, but all the same their living became much harder than before the war. Japan got a large indemnity from China, but this did not benefit the workers. They have to produce much more to support the increase of the army and navy than they did before. I heard last summer from many workers in the country that they do not like the war at all, for the war will immediately raise the price of rice, while wages will not be raised so soon, at least not for those who are not directly connected with war. They know very well that in the late wars with China the workers fought the battles but the medals and rewards of the victory went to those who did not fight.

Now these are the reasons of mine against the war and supported by my comrades as well as by laborers.

1. Laborers alone work for the preparation of the army and navy and are ever supporting them. The largest majority of the Japanese soldiers are of the working classes.
2. In the war laborers will be killed and suffer the most.
3. After the war they must work to pay the expenses of war and possibly for the increase of army and navy.
4. Japanese workingmen will fight with Russian workingmen who are in no way their enemy.

Now the war is going on in a brutal manner. I am opposed to this war, but as a Japanese I do not wish Japan to be beaten by Russia who in the past treated the Jews as she has in Kishineff, and is still dealing with Fins in the most brutal fashion, and moreover she has shot down many laborers during strikes! And above all I wish that the war may end as soon as possible, and I strongly desire that the working classes of the two countries may realize the true outcome of the war, and unite together to oppose the capitalist governments that are the cause of all the wars.

SEN KATAYAMA.

The Present State of Corporation Law.

THE proceedings of the American Bar Association at its annual convention in August, 1903, have already been discussed in the Socialist press. They throw considerable light on recent developments in law. While this convention was in session there was going through the press the fifth edition of a standard law work which has since appeared and which shows still more clearly the drift of things in the legal world. We refer to "A Treatise on the Law of Corporations," by William W. Cook, LL.D., of the New York bar. The preface to this work is good propaganda material for socialists. It is a peculiarity of the Socialist movement that it does not have to rely on its own literature alone. It is able to absorb and utilize many works, the true bearing of which was unknown to the authors themselves. Such are the works of Darwin, Spencer, Lewis H. Morgan, Lester F. Ward and others. Such is the work of Mr. Cook on Corporations. Mr. Cook comes to the conclusion that the lawyers rule the country. Superficially this is true and it reminds us of the position taken by Ferdinand Lassalle in his "System of Acquired Rights." But the Socialist only needs to add that the corporations, *i. e.*, organized profit-breeding wealth, rules the lawyers, and the whole situation becomes intelligible.

Mr. Cook may not be familiar with the term "economic determinism," and in making a political speech would probably combat that theory. But in speaking to his brother lawyers the truth comes out: "The laws of trade are stronger than the laws of men."

Formerly the most important branch of jurisprudence was the law of real estate, conveyancing and wills. Then with the expansion of world commerce commercial law grew in importance, embracing mercantile contracts, negotiable instruments, mortgages, partnerships, etc., and the up-to-date lawyer was a commercial lawyer with individual merchant princes for his clients. That day has also passed. Corporation law, says Mr. Cook, is now more important than all other branches of law combined. The great lawyer of today is the corporation lawyer who has no clients but who is the permanent salaried counsel of vast industrial trusts and railroad combines. He presides over a "law department." His duty is not only to know the law as made, but also to make the law as ordered. We quote from Mr. Cook's preface:

"The most striking feature of corporation law, during the past

five years, has been the creation and development of a new mode of combination and consolidation. It is known as the plan of "community of interest," which means the recognition by parties, controlling competing corporations, that there is more money to be made by co-operation than by destructive competition. Later a further development of the idea took place. Owing to the uncertainty of life and of the fortunes of individuals, and the danger of the control passing into incompetent or hostile hands, *corporations* were organized to hold a majority of the stock of various competing corporations. Frequently, also, these latter corporations, so controlled, were used to purchase the stock of still other corporations. This plan seemed to render practicable that which otherwise was impracticable, on account of a legal consolidation being impossible, by reason of statutes or of objecting minority stockholders. These great corporations, holding a majority of the stock of many other corporations, are the latest development of the consolidating tendency of the age. The United States Steel Corporation and the International Mercantile Marine Company are notable instances.

"A great hue and cry was raised both in England and America against these stockholding corporations. In the United States, on a bill in equity, filed by the Attorney General, the Circuit Court of the United States held that the Northern Securities Company had illegally and in violation of the Anti-Trust Act of Congress in 1890 acquired a majority of the stock of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company and the Great Northern Railroad Company, two competing trans-continental lines. The court accordingly put an end to the career of that company and made clear that that particular mode of establishing a 'community of interest,' between competing corporations, would not be tolerated by the law. No attack has been made, however, on the United States Steel Corporation, or the International Mercantile Marine Corporation, or the various railroad corporations which, during the past five years, have acquired stock in other railroad corporations. And it is unlikely that any such attack will be made. The Northern Securities Company case probably marks the limit to which the government cares to go, and also marks the limit which financiers are warned not to approach.

"In England the government itself investigated the legal, commercial and international effects of allowing an American corporation to own a majority of the stock of English corporations, owning English steamboats, receiving English subsidies, on English-built boats, manned by English crews, and flying the English flag. The opposition, however, was of no avail. And, in fact, the whole economic history of England shows the irresistible tendency of the times. For more than thirty years Parliament legis-

lated against the consolidation of railroads. This legislation proved to be utterly futile, and in 1872 a parliamentary committee made an elaborate and exhaustive report on the subject, and said, among other things, that consolidation 'had not brought with it the evils that were anticipated, but that, in any event, long and varied experience had fully demonstrated the fact that, while Parliament might hinder and thwart it, it could not prevent it.'

"The consolidations of railroads, which took place in America from 1865 to 1873, seem to have been insignificant as compared with the consolidations of the year 1900. Great trunk lines were swallowed up by other trunk lines. This was done, for the most part, by one railroad purchasing the stock of the other, instead of purchasing its tangible property. The result was that practically all of the eastern railroads passed under the control of the two great eastern systems, the Pennsylvania Railroad and the New York Central Railroad; the western railroads, for the most part, passed under the control of the three great systems, the Great Northern and Northern Pacific Railroads, the Union Pacific Railroad and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad, while in the South the Southern Railroad practically controls the situation. This process of consolidation demonstrated the truth of George Stephenson's saying, that 'where combination is possible, competition is impossible.'

"So also as to other classes of American corporations. Early in the year 1899 the whole industrial world of America, with an outburst of prosperity, underwent a remarkable change. Consolidations of manufacturing institutions took place on a colossal scale, and industrial corporations, having a capitalization greater than that of the great trunk railroads, sprang into existence. These vast manufacturing corporations were denounced by the politicians as 'trusts' and illegal combinations in restraint of trade. Statutes were enacted against them and suits started to forfeit their charters. All this, however, availed nothing. The laws of trade were stronger than the laws of men. Moreover, these consolidated manufacturing concerns have enabled America to invade the markets of the world. The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed the formation of the greatest corporation that ever existed, the United States Steel Corporation. With a capitalization of nearly one and a half billion dollars, it controls the steel product of the United States; has over one hundred and fifty thousand employes; a pay-roll of over one hundred millions dollars a year, and is the owner of mines, steamship lines, railroads, iron plants and steel rolling mills. No one knows how much of the \$90,000,000,000 of wealth of the United States, in the year 1900, was represented by industrial and railroad consolidations.

"Consolidation is the spirit of the age, moving on resistlessly,

regardless of human laws and hostile public sentiment. Vast corporations have taken charge of the industries of the country and are destroying the old order of things, and the legal profession has been profoundly affected by these great industrial changes. Wealth has become concentrated in corporations, and the American corporation lawyer of today is called upon to aid in the management of these powerful forces. Counsel work is becoming more important than court work—avoiding litigation a higher test of efficiency than success in litigation. Business judgment and foresight are required of counsel, as well as legal skill and learning. Commercial interests have become too vast to be managed without legal advice, and too important to be hazarded in litigation. A broader field today invokes the foresight, mental alertness and resourcefulness of the lawyer. Colossal enterprises now call for a leadership and capacity which twenty years ago would have been considered beyond the province of the lawyer and the law.

“Leadership in the counsel room is necessary, if the lawyer is to maintain the supremacy he has exercised in American government for a hundred years. His pre-eminence in that field has been remarkable. Twenty-one of the twenty-five Presidents of the United States were lawyers; thirty-two of the thirty-three Secretaries of State; all the Attorneys General; all the Judges and two-thirds of the members of Congress. And yet there are but eighty thousand lawyers for the eighty millions of American people. Never before in the history of the world has so small a class governed so great and intelligent a people. The lawyers rule because they have the capacity to rule.

“It is fitting that such men should control the creation and development of corporation law, which is today more important than all the other branches of law combined.”

Thus, Mr. Cook, attention should be called to the fact that the most vital questions which the lawyer has to decide are not those arising out of the transaction of the business in which the corporation is engaged, but those questions arising out of the relations between the corporation and the public, or between it and the municipality, state or national government. In short it is a case of the corporation against the state. On one hand the political influence of the so-called “common people” has greatly diminished and the encroachment of the corporation on the state has been steady and successful, with only a few temporary checks; on the other hand there is a growing tendency towards “state interference,” either by way of public control over corporations or by direct public ownership. As a result of these two influences the relations of the corporations and the public authorities are constantly becoming more intimate and complicated. When these

two forces come into conflict both of course engage corporation lawyers. The public body relies upon a trust lawyer to fight the trusts, and how gently and considerably this fight is conducted can be seen in the case of the present Attorney General of the United States.

The street railway question in Chicago also furnishes a good illustration. The *Record-Herald* of November 13, 1903, contained the following news item:

"Prominent eastern lawyers who have been asked to represent the city in an aggressive legal fight regarding traction issues are David Bennett Hill, Richard Olney and John G. Carlisle. Alderman William Mavor of the transportation committee was authority for this statement yesterday.

"Negotiations with these attorneys have been carried on by letter by Corporation Counsel Tolman.

"We want to begin an aggressive fight," said Alderman Mavor yesterday. "We want to see the city make a few offensive moves instead of resting upon the defensive. We want an attorney of national reputation who can direct such a fight.

"It is understood that the reason impelling the city authorities to search for a lawyer outside of Chicago is the fact that most of the city's corporation attorneys are concerned in one way or another with the traction interests."

The fact is that there is nothing to litigate about. The traction companies are now absolutely at the mercy of the city council, their franchises having expired. It is a simple case of stand and deliver. The council can impose any terms it pleases and the companies must accept them or go out of business. But the council is afraid to use its power. It is easier to fool the voting constituency than to fly in the face of organized wealth. It wants a lawyer who will help give its case away. Now, there are over 4,500 lawyers in Chicago who have ability enough to give away the city's rights, if paid to do so. But there are certain proprieties to be observed which distinguish respectable business like this from vulgar grafting, such for instance as getting fraudulent judgments against the city in sidewalk damage cases. The traction companies' aldermen want the city to get a lawyer of national reputation who can do the job with becoming dignity and while giving the case away call it a splendid triumph for the people.

MARCUS HITCH.

The Milwaukee Election.

THE approaching municipal election in Milwaukee becomes interesting from a study of the growth of the Socialist vote in that city. This growth has been both gradual and steady, as may be seen from the following table of the vote of the Social Democratic Party (Socialist Party) in the city of Milwaukee for the last five years:

		Increase.	Per cent.
1898 City Election.....	2,430		
1900 City Election.....	2,585	155	6.37
1900 State Election.....	4,667	2,082	82.86
1902 City Election.....	8,453	3,786	81.12
1902 State Election.....	10,460	2,007	23.79

It is noticeable that there is no ebb and flow in this vote, but rather a steady forward current. It should also be observed that in all elections the vote for the various candidates has been remarkably uniform. The highest vote has exceeded the lowest by less than two hundred votes, except in the state election of 1902, in which the Social Democratic candidate for governor ran about twelve hundred votes behind the rest of the ticket. The lowest vote is given in the foregoing table.

The growth in the vote, in fact, is almost an exact measure of the amount of work which has been put into the Socialist propaganda for each interval between elections, and this propaganda has been carried on mainly by the distribution of literature. For some reason, there is a lack of orators in the Milwaukee movement. This has proved a decided blessing in disguise, thus compelling the party to rely on the surer basis of the written rather than the spoken word. It has been a costly kind of propaganda, but in the long run it has proved by far the most reliable. This spring, it is true, the best Socialist speakers in the country in English, and some in German, Polish and Bohemian, have been engaged to take a hand in the Milwaukee campaign, but this is the first election in which oral propaganda has been made a prominent feature. Nor does this mean that the Milwaukee Social Democrats have abandoned their policy of literary propaganda. On the contrary, Socialist literature in large quantities and in five languages is now being circulated in Milwaukee from house to house, and its distribution is an important object at all public meetings.

Another reason for the success of the Milwaukee movement is its proletarian character. The members of the or-

ganization are workingmen almost to a man, and there is no large city in the United States where the Socialist movement is so overwhelmingly trades unionist. To this fact may be attributed the remarkable absence of the trades union "fakir," the Socialist element having almost entirely eliminated this undesirable factor. The fakir that occasionally makes his appearance here usually comes from some other town and very soon leaves us. The Trades Council of Milwaukee is more radically Socialist than any other central labor body of any considerable size in America.

Moreover, there is a "rich poverty" of lawyers and other professional men among the Milwaukee Social Democrats. Indeed, the leaders, as well as the rank and file, are strictly class-conscious in the best sense of that much abused word.

These, then, are the reasons for the growth of the party in Milwaukee. These are the conditions under which it is entering upon the municipal campaign of 1904. We do not expect nor do we desire that the coming election will indicate any sudden flare of enthusiasm which may die out like a straw-fire. Nor do we wish any astonishing increase in the Social Democratic vote which would melt away in some future election. But we do hope and expect that the returns on the 6th of April will mark a growth in proportion to the ratio of past years, and which will correspond with almost mathematical accuracy to the amount of labor expended and to the time and funds sacrificed for the Socialist propaganda by the comrades of Milwaukee.

Nevertheless, the resistance against them in this election will be more decided than ever before. The Republican National Committee, it is said, has appropriated \$50,000 for the "suppression of Socialism," half of which was to be used in Massachusetts and the other half in Wisconsin, these being considered the two storm centers of Socialist propaganda. Father Sherman is also being toured through the principal cities of Wisconsin, to excite the prejudices of the ignorant against the wicked Social Democrats, who want to abolish "the names of father, mother, brother and sister," as he claims. What is of far more importance is the fact that Republicans and Democrats are apparently combining forces to defeat the Social Democrats. The Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, consisting mostly of Republicans, has petitioned Mayor Rose (Democrat) to run again for mayor. In view of the fact that only three months ago these very men presided at an indignation meeting at which the name of Rose was hissed, this attitude of the merchants and manufacturers of Milwaukee is significant. In those wards where the Social Democrats are likely to elect aldermen, the Democrats and

Republicans have signified their intention either to combine on one ticket, or else to place only one ticket against us in the field. It is because of this unusual combination that the Milwaukee Social Democrats are making unusual efforts and securing the services of so many outside speakers. This is, moreover, the first campaign in which we have ever made an appeal for funds from Socialists throughout the country. We believe, however, that we are now justified in doing this under the present circumstances. We have no fear that our vote will decrease this year. But to keep up the same ratio of progress in the face of such a strong combination against us would be indeed a triumph for the Socialist Party of America.

E. H. THOMAS.

Labor Conditions on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec.

THE man who does the work on the great plantations on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, in the Republic of Mexico, has a hard time of it. Under the capitalist system of production, the workingman everywhere finds his cup of woe full to overflowing, but the workingman on the isthmus is compelled, it seems to me, to take in his a double portion of bitterness.

Up to the present time the Isthmus of Tehuantepec has remained a comparatively undeveloped region. Large tracts of it have been held by Spanish estates since the conquest. Little has been done by the owners of these estates in the way of developing their resources. The Spaniards have been content with the profits derived from the mahogany and other valuable timber of the forests, from tapping the wild rubber tree, from the banana and the sugar cane and the herds of cattle. The "Mozo," as the native Indian is called, although he worked for his landlord, lived a tolerable existence under these conditions. His own wants were few, as were also those of his master, and were easily supplied. The labor was seldom very arduous and the hours were not long. When the day's task was done he returned to his family and he was happy.

But during the last ten years all this has been changed. The omnivorous and omnipresent American, keen on the scent leading to commercial advantage, has invaded this region. He discovered that the isthmus river bottoms could produce as much sugar per acre as the lava beds of Hawâii, that the hillsides would grow coffee and rubber equal to any in the world, that corn, cacao, bananas and the pineapple would thrive, and he has purchased the great Spanish estates and has cut them up into "plantations" of from one thousand acres to ten thousand acres each.

"American money" is "developing" these plantations; so say the "promoters." But speaking more accurately, it is Mozo muscle. The native workingman receives from thirty to forty cents (Mexican) a day, which is from thirteen to fifteen cents a day in our money. But the workingman does not always draw all that he earns, as he gets his supplies at the plantation store, either for cash or on credit, and then he is also subjected to fines of one sort or another. A plantation manager told the writer that he had just recently fined two of his men two dollars each for chewing cane stalks.

Whether sucking juice from the cane is one of the more heinous offenses for which men are fined on this plantation, the man did not state. A little sweet sap to slake their thirst, perhaps, or possibly, to piece out a scanty breakfast, cost these men a week's work. And yet this man seemed to be among the most humane and tender-hearted of the managers one meets upon the isthmus. He is past sixty years of age, an ex-banker, and until recently was a resident of Minnesota.

And the Mozo is no slouch of a worker. The tropical heat of the days and the chilling cold of the nights do not affect him. With his machete he can do a wonderful amount of brush work in a day, either in clearing the jungle, or in clearing the coffee and rubber plantations of weeds. And with the ax in clearing the forest of its monster trees he is more than the northern woodsman's equal.

Work begins at dawn and lasts till dark. The men are told off in gangs of fifteen or twenty under a foreman, who is armed with a six-shooter and a machete. The men have to be watched closely or they will run away, but woe unto the man who makes an unsuccessful attempt to escape. A machete is likely to crack his skull. At night the men are herded in a large bamboo bunk-house, which is closely strung with barbed wire, and an armed watchman stands guard at the door all night, to see that no one gets away. In this way the men are retained until their period of contract expires, usually three or six months. A new contract is then entered into, he returns to his home, or goes to another plantation.

Many of these Mexican workingmen come from the cities, where they have become involved in debt to an employment agent. The employment agent gathers up twenty-five or fifty of his debtors and contracts their labor-power to the plantation manager. Here on the plantation the Mozo works out his original debt with the interest thereon, his railroad fare, which was advanced by the plantation manager, and, presumably, a fair profit also to the employment agent for the transaction.

You may think that the Mozo would object to this kind of treatment. Well, he does, and about as effectually as the Cripple Creek miners have objected to equally as outrageous treatment. But the laws of Mexico, like the laws of Colorado, are made by the capitalists, for the capitalist's interest, and are enforced against the workingman at the point of the capitalist bayonet. In Mexico, as in Colorado, it is supposed that the workingman helps elect those whom he would have rule over him, but in Mexico, as in Colorado, the workingman still votes as the capitalist tells him to. And he gets what he votes for in both places.

Mexico is a republic only in name. In reality it is a mil-

itary despotism. To be sure, the despot is a very benevolent one, as despots go. President Diaz has safeguarded the rights of the people well in many ways against the insidious encroachments of capital. In some respects he has done much better than our own high officials. Still there is no real liberty in Mexico for the workingman, any more than there is in the United States.

There are signs, however, which show that the workingman in Mexico is beginning to think a little and to act in his own interest. On the isthmus he is becoming more independent, harder to handle, and the plantation managers are beginning to look to Japan and China for men. One or two shiploads of Chinamen have already arrived at the isthmus, and more are on the way to take the places of the native Mexican. This importation will not prove so disastrous to the Mexican workingman in lowering wages and the standard of living, as the free importation of Chinese into the United States would prove the American workingman's undoing. The Mexican has few wants, easily supplied, and his wages are so low that the Chinaman is not likely to underbid him. It would appear that the Mexican workingman would rather welcome the Chinaman in coming to relieve him of the task of clearing the isthmus of the impenetrable jungle.

ISAAC PETERSON.

The Elections in Australia.

THE federal elections have taken place and the Labor Party has greatly increased its representation. In the senatorial elections for Queensland, Western Australia and South Australia the Labor Party swept the polls. The position of parties in the Senate is now as follows:

Ministerial (protectionists).....	8
Opposition (free-traders).....	14
Labor	14
In the House of Representatives the parties stand as follows:	
Ministerial	26
Opposition	27
Labor	22

The most interesting feature of the elections for socialists was the running of three socialist candidates for the Senate in New South Wales. These candidates stood for clear-cut, non-compromising revolutionary socialism and their appeal to the class-consciousness of the workers was in marked contrast to the electioneering appeals of the Labor Party, with whom, of course, they came into direct conflict.

The socialist votes were:

Thomson	25,976
Moroney	25,924
Drake	17,870

Drake's vote of 17,000 may be taken as something near the solid socialist vote. The lead of 8,000 which the other two candidates obtained is due to sympathy votes given by the supporters of the Labor Party, who in N. S. W. only nominated the one candidate for the Senate. (This single Labor candidate relied on the protectionist vote and was regarded as one of the protectionist trio. Neither he nor any of the protectionists, however, were returned.)

At the first federal election which took place three years ago the Australian Socialist League ran the full ticket for the Senate, with the following result:

Neill, 5,952; Thomson, 5,823; Holland, 4,771; Moroney, 4,257; Melling, 3,495; Morrish, 3,109.

The solid socialist vote could not then have been more than 3,000. Taking into account the fact that women had no vote at that election, the socialist strength of N. S. W. in 1900 may be regarded as below 6,000. This increase from 6,000

to 17,000 must be regarded as exceedingly encouraging when it is recollected that there is only one socialist paper (a weekly) in the state, and that the workers are intoxicated with the practical-politics elixir.

Matters political are at present very interesting—for politicians. The people are likely to be fooled as usual. Political intrigue is at present busy, and alliances of all sorts and descriptions are hinted at. The alliances of the Labor Party with the Protectionists, of the Labor Party with the Free-traders, of the Protectionists with the Free-traders, and of the Labor Party with Kingston (one of the most radical of the protectionist section) are freely spoken of. The last mentioned one would be the most popular among labor supporters for Kingston has always been an advocate of adult suffrage, white Australia and compulsory conciliation and arbitration. (During the last parliament he gained great applause by resigning his position as minister because his co-ministers refused to make provision in the federal arbitration bill for the application of its provisions to seamen.)

It is doubtful, however, whether Kingston has a following large enough to place him in power, even with the help of the Labor Party. The most probable arrangement would seem to be a coalition between protectionists and free-traders; this seems exceedingly probable, as large numbers of both sections during the elections declared for fiscal peace. The greatest bar to this alliance is the personal ambition of G. H. Reid (the free-trade leader). This would practically bring about a temporary alliance at least between Kingston and the Labor Party.

This rearrangement of parties will most likely take place over the discussion of the conciliation and arbitration bill, which will come up for discussion early in the session.

Federal Labor Leader Watson, with an eye, perchance, on probable political development, in a recent speech said he thought that the Labor Party was quite as anxious as others to prove the efficiency of each successive step, and it would be useless to attempt to go too far ahead of the people. Therefore, in the interests of permanent reform, it was desirable to progress steadily. Regarding the charge of socialism, he admitted *a trend in that direction*, but this was only in regard to the great services which were likely to result injuriously to the community if left in private hands.

Turley, the labor senator who topped the poll in Queensland, declared at the declaration of the poll that the first duty of Queensland senators was to see that Brisbane was made a port of call for the mail steamers. (For some time past the

Queensland bourgeoisie have been agitating for this in order that they may be able to export their products at a reduced cost and at regular intervals.) The absence of class-consciousness and the desire to serve the interests of the little bourgeoisie are general features of the Labor Party's policy and points to the fact that it is fast becoming a middle-class party.

A crisis has occurred in compulsory arbitration in N. S. W. In some of the Newcastle collieries the employers decided to reduce the hewing rate. The men appealed to the Arbitration Court, which gave an award in favor of the employers, reducing the hewing rate from 2s 3½d to 1s 9d per ton. The men refused to accept the award of the court, in spite of the advice of the union officials and the workers' representative in the court, Sam Smith. The latter said:

"It was just as incumbent on the miners to give the customary notice when an award did not suit them as it would be for a mine owner to give them notice, when the award was in their favor, if he wished to close his colliery down. As it was, the men in question neither obeyed the law of the land nor the rules of their union. The only clear course for the whole of the men concerned was to resume work, and, if the terms did not suit them, to give 14 days' notice, and then to seek work elsewhere. If they wanted to see the act or their own organization continue they must treat the owners and their officers fairly and loyally."

The employers contemplated proceeding against the union, but as the union officials advised the men to return to work, this course had to be abandoned and the union funds are safe. The coal magnates then threatened to proceed against the men individually under one of the clauses of the arbitration act, but for the present this course also has been abandoned. These colliers at any rate have learned that the Arbitration Court is not conducted for their benefit, although the union world of N. S. W. looks askance at their action. The Sydney Worker, the official labor paper of the state, asserts that "they will under all the circumstances be utterly debarred alike from receiving public support, from that of their co-workers in other collieries and from that of unions embraced by the Sydney Labor Council."

It is worthy of note that in the mines of Newcastle machines are to be introduced. Perhaps then a larger number of the colliers may be brought to see that the class struggle is not the figment of a diseased brain.

Another matter of great significance to trades unionists is receiving some attention in N. S. W. A writer in a recent

number of the Waterside Workers' Gazette says that "the membership (of a union) should be restricted to that actually required; if necessary, this could be mutually arranged between employer and employe." Also "that the men seeking admission should either be men who already had experience or else young men physically capable of doing anything that the trade demanded. If these suggestions were adopted the union would, ere long, be one which offered genuine advantage to its members."

The introduction of this old guild idea is not likely to increase the effectiveness of trades unionism as a weapon for the emancipation of the working class. It is no wonder that the idea is spreading that unionism has outlived its usefulness.

ANDREW M. ANDERSON.

A History of German Trade Unions.

(Concluded from February issue.)

ON the 11th of December a confidential circular from Count Posadowsky was sent out consulting the allied governments upon this subject. In January, 1898, *Vorwaerts* published this circular and gave the alarm. A lively discussion followed in the Reichstag between Stumm and the representatives of the three phases of the political-union movement: Legien and von Elm, Roesicke, the Liberal, Lieber and Hitzel, of the Centre. And the Reichstag showed itself sympathetic with the efforts of the laborers.

At the same time, all the union organizations protested with all their strength. The general Commission undertook an enormous agitation extending throughout Germany. More than three million and a half of leaflets were scattered throughout the whole country. It held large numbers of meetings, it addressed a long memoir upon the right to strike to the Reichstag.

The government, however, persisted in presenting its plan of a law. The Reichstag did not even do it the honor to send it to a committee. (Nov. 20, 1899.)

This time, this was the end.

A later revelation showed how much of a class fight this was: Count Posadowsky, secretary of internal affairs, had solicited and received from the Central Union of German manufacturers, celebrated as being the union of all the extremists, 15,000 francs to support his proposed law.

Since then the unions have no longer been directly disturbed. Their juridical position, it is true, still remains precarious; since 1895 all the efforts of their friends or representatives to secure recognition of legal standing for them by simple registration have been regularly defeated by the opposition of the Prussian government. Even according to the Civil Code of 1900, since the tribunal charged with registering the documents by which the associations obtained their legal standing may oppose its veto, if an association is a social or political one—the unions are still at the mercy of the authorities.

The most interesting thing in their recent history is the fact that by their ever increasing numbers, by the development of their works of insurance, by the ever increasing part which they take in the applications and the development of social legislation, they have become during these last years one of the essential organs of German industrial production. A despotic government may for a long time yet refuse them a legal standing, it may hamper

their propaganda, but it no longer dare attempt to annihilate them without at the same time disorganizing German production and even more without disorganizing its own services.

We have now to describe how this great power has been acquired.

* * *

This increasing strength was primarily due to a continuous increase of union organizations. While the outgrown decrepit Hirsch-Duncker organizations responded but feebly to the shocks of political and industrial life (growing from 86,000 in 1899 to 91,000 in 1900), the young Christian organizations and the vigorous Socialist unions attained a progress during these last years comparable to that of the English unions after 1850. At the time of their first congress at Mayence in 1899, there were 23 Christian unions with 102,590 members. By 1900 they claimed a membership of 161,517. On the other hand, the socialist unions passed from 493,742 in 1898 to 580,473 in 1899 and to 680,427 in 1900.

During this same period the various groups perfected their organization. Those who had not previously seen its necessity now adopted the centralized form, whose efficiency the socialist unions had already demonstrated. The Christian unions founded a Central Committee at Mayence in 1899 charged with the same functions as the General Commission, i. e., propaganda and gathering statistics, publishing a journal and representing the common interests. The localists themselves in 1897 established a business commission, held a congress and founded a central union in 1901. Finally, in 1899 and 1902 at Frankfort and Stuttgart, the two congresses of the unions belonging to the General Commission defined the respective functions of the Central unions and the federations, that is to say, of the local groups, which correspond quite closely to the French *Bourses des travail*.

The unions developed their resources and their internal strength most strikingly. Even until within these last years the prejudice still prevailed that dues ought to remain small in order to gain a large membership. It was forgotten that it was equally necessary to retain the members, and that this could only be done when they were assured evident advantages, and these could not be obtained without great resources. Little by little the dues were voted higher and higher. In 1891, out of thirty-six of the centralized unions, fourteen paid fortnightly dues of less than 15 pfennigs, and twenty less than 20 pfennigs. In 1902, out of sixty unions one alone paid dues of less than 15 pfennigs; only six paid less than 20 pfennigs.

Another manifest proof of the increasing vitality of the

unions is the establishment of special functionaries such as union secretaries, secretaries of federations, labor secretaries and treasurers whose work becomes more and more extensive and more and more appreciated, calling for higher and higher compensation. The congresses of the centralized unions of 1899 and 1902 were occupied with discussions concerning these officials. The congress of Frankfort directed the General Commission of laborers to organize mutual institutions permitting the unions to insure their officers the payment of a pension on retirement. The congress of Stuttgart decided to form a mutual assistance fund which has now been established.

Thanks to the development of these organizations and to this increase of resources the unions have succeeded during the last years in entering upon their task in all its fullness.

In the first place this task has come to be better understood.

Whether they recognize the existence of the class struggle and deliberately make it the fundamental principle of their activity, as do the socialist unions, or whether they deny it like the Hirsch-Duncker unions, or whether while recognizing it they hope to soften it as do the Christians, they all propose to-day as their object the material and moral improvement of the condition of the worker within the existing society by exercising an influence upon the conditions of labor. Better conditions of labor, higher wages, shorter hours—this is the immediate end for all, and a vigorous, educated and wealthy proletariat (the socialist adds for the purpose of the future struggle of emancipation), this, for all alike, was the final aim.

But how were these results to be attained?

Hirsch said, by agreements with the employers. But the socialist replied by asking if such agreements were possible without common principles of law. And can a legal regime exist which shall be truly common, for does not all law lead to the oppression of the wage-worker? In the wage system war is permanent, is only temporarily abolished by ephemeral truces. The Hirsch-Dunckers and the Christians are also compelled to participate in this war. As for the socialists it was as a war measure that they founded unions in the first place. But, even if methodical and regulated, war is always war between classes as between nations. But let us have no unnecessary wars hereafter, there will be enough necessary ones in the social world.

In order to reduce the number of strikes, strong unions are necessary which are capable of obtaining by the very fact of their strength advantageous agreements, and capable of enforcing them. Indeed, during these last years the unions have frequently been able by a simple understanding to lessen

strikes. Most important of all, agreements as to wages have begun to be concluded between unions of laborers and unions of employers.

In 1873 the printers, already powerful, concluded the first of these, which remained in force for eighteen years. In 1891, when it was to be renewed, the employers refused to grant the nine-hour day, and a strike was declared which ruined the federation. After it had been re-organized more strongly in 1896, it obtained a new agreement binding the unions and the employers' organization for five years, and granting the reduction of a half hour in the working day and an increase of 50 pfennigs a week.

The printers' union belonged to the General Commission. An important question was raised. Had not the union ignored the class struggle by establishing a rate of wages in agreement with the employers? Some of the members of the Typographical Union accused the committee of accepting with Hirsch the idea of a harmony of interests. Gasch, the editor of the union journal, founded a rival union. The question was taken before the congress of socialist unions in 1899. Döblin, the president of the central organization, pointed out that a struggle was not necessarily for the sake of the struggle itself, and that it was not the business of labor organizations to artificially aggravate class antagonism, but to obtain practical results. The congress almost unanimously agreed that the agreements as to wages were a recognition by the employers of the equal rights of the laborers in the fixing of the conditions of labor, and that it was advisable to endeavor to establish such agreements wherever the employers' organizations were strong and guaranteed their execution. The masons' union in 1899 followed the example of the printers and several others have since done the same. The unions have accepted this new tactic, which is better adapted to their increasing strength and suited to render their direct action more effective.

For a long time, and for the great majority of the German unions, and especially for the socialist unions, this direct action by a strike, or by pressure exercised upon the employers, was almost the only method utilized. It was sometimes sustained by some other institutions, indispensable for fighting, such as a trade journal, and assistance to militants subjected to legal persecution. The unions were continuously at the mercy of the police. They were persecuted as insurance institutions whenever they happened to have a few cents in their treasury, until they scarcely dared to accumulate the necessary capital for the work of mutual relief. Moreover the efficiency of these institutions for union activity was not

clearly apparent. The Hirsch-Dunckers, which had practiced them from the beginning, had made of them only purely institutions for mutual relief.

But during these last years the unions were beginning to consider whether if these works were well conducted, they might not exercise a certain influence upon the labor market. Traveling relief, assistance in case of idleness and in finding employment for the members have been recognized as appropriate weapons with which to sustain or supplement the direct struggle. In many of the unions the resistance to their establishment was very sharp. It was claimed that to establish relief funds was practically to surrender completely to conditions of present society, to abandon all struggle, and like the liberals, seek only to relieve here and there individual suffering. It was argued that it was the function of the State to insure labor and guarantee the laboring class against need, and that therefore the unions ought not to change themselves into societies for mutual assistance, and thereby relieve the State of its duties.

To those who in the Berlin Congress of 1896 presented these arguments, others like Segitz replied that a union was strong only when it had a numerous and stable fighting force, and that only through relief funds could members be retained and that it had been shown that through assistance for traveling and for the employed it was possible to favorably affect the conditions of wages and work. The traveling fee relieved the market and permitted the more mobile of the laborers to go away to seek elsewhere for employment; assistance to the unemployed permitted them to wait without contributing by their despairing bids to the decrease of wages. The Congress endorsed the latter position, and advised the unions to establish, whenever possible, relief for the unemployed.

This advice has been followed. In 1877 there were still but fourteen unions that gave relief to those out of work; in 1901 there were twenty-one of these, and in 1902, twenty-six. In the same year, forty-one out of sixty organizations gave traveling assistance to their members. In the Christian unions these useful institutions are still without any great importance. The Hirsch-Dunckers had possessed them all since 1895.

Among the services furnished by the unions must be included the laborer's hotels. These are open to all, to non-unionists as well as to unionists (in order to permit the second to gain the first), and assure to the laborer arriving in a great city comfortable accommodations at a moderate price. Sometimes these are private enterprises controlled by local federation, and sometimes the property of the federation itself.

Here it is that the local federations enter upon the scene. If there is a central union supplied with ample resources it takes up the work of furnishing assistance to the unemployed and in traveling, or again of gathering the general statistics of the labor market in each trade, and it is necessary for the local union to interest itself every day in the work of securing employment, adjusting relations with the authorities, and all other local matters connected more or less with the defense of wages. By itself, the little group of 100 or 200 members of a single trades union, in a moderate sized village, is scarcely able to accomplish this task which every day grows more complex.

Soon, the unions of the same village feel the necessity of uniting in order to supply their members with all these desired services. In his original form of organization Hirsch had decided that local federations should be founded, to which the unions of the same city would be compelled to apply. After 1892, this federation was no longer obligatory, but the local federations have continued developing themselves until there were 128 in 1902.

But it is principally the federation of socialist unions which through the development of the life of central unions have taken a remarkable extension during recent years. Three hundred and sixty-five federations, including 4,742 organizations, with 614,722 members, have replied to the inquiry of the General Commission in 1902. Of these federations 103 have a bureau of information, seventy-seven possess a meeting hall; twenty-nine a central hotel; 160 arrange for a hotel with a restaurant keeper subject to their control; nineteen already have their "Home for the Unions," where all these special services together with the offices of the various unions, hotels, restaurants, halls for meetings and festivals, libraries and lecture halls are gathered together.

In 1900 the Berlin proletariat dedicated a vast and substantial laboring palace whose facade of red brick serves to enliven the monotonous greyness of the eastern quarter. Thus, little by little, this well-rounded system of institutions is completed, which serves the laborers in defending their wages.

* * *

But by a natural logic, the continuously increasing assistance which was given to the workers by these various institutions led them more and more to have recourse to the union for all the difficulties of their daily life. If the worker sees only his wages and if it is the union which guarantees them to him, why should he not appeal to his organization in one form or another whenever his ability to work is menaced?

The union activity continued to extend. The healthfulness of the workshop, protection against accidents, assistance in sickness and injury, even the questions of housing and trade instruction, have inevitably been brought to the attention of the societies. But, here they found themselves injured by activity of another sort, that of the State.

Since the wholly political initiative of Prince Bismarck in 1881, labor legislation, even in spite of his intentions, has developed. The gaps in the first insurance institutions have been filled by successive new acts. Protection of labor is on the way to being established. Women and children are better and better protected. Germany already boasts of being the country, *par excellence*, of social politics.

Now this governmental activity has at first thwarted the development of the unions. It has frequently been repeated that the reason why the German unions did not develop like the English was because of the competition of the State, which prevented them from creating powerful benefit funds. The Hirsch-Duncker unions, which in 1869 established a central fund for the disabled, were forced to go into bankruptcy after the establishment of imperial insurance in 1889. The strongest of their unions, that of the machinists, which created a similar institution, was compelled also to give it up in 1893. Even among the socialists the printers alone, at the present time, distribute a very slight relief in case of disability. As to sick benefits, the new act of 1892 having permitted the free funds to remain, the Hirsch-Dunckers collected theirs into one central Union, and have been able to maintain it. In 1900, they distributed 1,061,625 francs. In the socialist unions the recent development of works of assistance seems to have been somewhat stimulated by the creation of these institutions of relief. In 1901 ten unions, and in 1902 eighteen distributed relief, and during this last year this amounted to 992,347 francs. But a careful consideration shows that all this amounts to but very little more than a supplemental relief. Competition with the State being really impossible, the effort of the unions to aid their members must be turned in other directions. It is just here that they have shown a marvelous flexibility.

The German social legislation is essentially anti-democratic. Employers, proprietors, officials, bureaucrats all have a share in the application of the measures in favor of the workers. The workers alone have no part, or a ridiculously small one. The consequence is that these laws which it is pretended were made in their interest are not always applied, or are applied against them. A strong organization of the employing class and the complicity of the authorities is suffi-

cient to insure this result. Both of these are met with in Germany more than elsewhere.

Confronted with these institutions the workers, while they are still feebly organized, have only one resource. They have no more to do with these institutions than they can help. They renounce the benefits that the law may offer them and avoid their application.

The German unions have in the beginning taken this attitude, and while the consciousness of class antagonisms sometimes incited them to take it, it is necessary to recognize that it was frequently forced upon them by events. Factory inspectors were first created in 1878, then increased in numbers in 1891, but the inspectors plainly took the side of the employers in their annual reports, and spies denounced the workers who complained. Employment bureaus have been established by the municipalities since 1893. But the municipalities gave their administration over to hostile employes, and the State sought for means to destroy the employment bureaus and prevent strikes. The accident and insurance law promised the worker who had become incapacitated two-thirds of his wages, but the associated employers by judicial trickery deprived him of this indemnity. This explains the hostile attitude, and also the radical resolutions such as those of the congress of Berlin, which warned the unions against all employment bureaus whose administration was not confined exclusively to them.

But a time came when the vigorous growth of the societies and some happy attempts on their part showed the influence that they were able to exert. In South Germany in the duchy of Baden and of Wurtemberg the factory inspectors were brought in touch with the workers. In the Grand Duchy of Weimer *Vertrauensmänner* have been accepted by the government as advisers of the inspectors, and elsewhere "complaint committees" have been established. Even in relation to the employment bureaus, in several of the South German States mixed bureaus, administered by the employers and the laborers, have been able to satisfy the latter.

Little by little, led on by this first experience, the unions have given up their policy of abstention. Becoming conscious of their strength and convinced that co-operation in the application of the laws did not diminish their vigor in struggling, they have not feared to participate in all the work of the State. They have become convinced that they alone are able to assure to the disabled worker all the benefits of which delusive legislation too often found ways to deprive him after it had been promised him. And step by step they have begun

to sweep away all the institutions of a conservative Bismarckian socialism.

In spite of the old prejudices (hatred of the State among the Liberals, suspicion among the Socialists), in spite of the frequently recognized ignorance of the inspectors, insufficiency of the entire service organized by each State and not by an imperial law, in spite of the hostility of the Berlin government, the unions have continued to participate more and more in factory inspection. Following the decisions of Frankfort in 1899, the socialist federations have established commissions having the duty of presenting complaints and thus freeing the worker from undergoing persecution by the employer. One hundred and thirty-one such commissions existed in 1902. The central unions, local groups and secretaries are compelled to maintain continuous relations with the inspectors and to assist them in their investigations.

Since the reconsideration of the decision of Berlin in 1896 the same congress of Frankfort after having called attention to the fact that in principle the placing of laborers belonged by right to their organizations, it was recognized that experience showed it might be advantageous for the unions in certain trades to take part in the administration of municipal employment bureaus. It also regulated the committees under which this co-operation might take place.

Before long the whole system of labor insurance will be invaded by union activity. These systems of insurance indeed constitute appropriate means for the protection and development of the strength of the proletariat. Now it is the duty of the unions in fulfilling their essential role to utilize all these means, and in pursuance of this idea they have set to work. In the administration of the various forms of insurance some subordinate places have been reserved to the representatives of the laborers. These are not neglected. Competent comrades, members of the unions, experts in labor legislation and ardent defenders of proletarian rights are installed therein. The independent (socialist) unions at Frankfort in 1899, and the Christian union at Crefeld in 1901 have decided to introduce as many as possible of their members into these insurance offices. In 1899 and 1901 the General Commission through brochures and circulars directed the election of laborers as assistants to the bureaus, the co-operative tribunals and to the imperial offices. In all these instances the rights of the laborers will be henceforth defended.

But all of these laws are complicated. Their jurisprudence is enormous and the defects are innumerable by which the meager sums due to the proletarians are sharply returned to the employers' or State fund. Sick and discouraged, with-

out protection against the solicitations or the advice of such or such ones, incapable of paying a competent attorney, what can these creditors do? If, upon the testimony of a physician in his employ, an employer's insurance association gives him only an insignificant indemnity, how can the worker, the victim of an accident, go from trial to trial, even to the Imperial Court of last resort, and how will he make up a record, or obtain a representative to support his cause at Berlin?

It is in order to respond to these needs that the labor secretariats have been conceived and founded by the socialist unions.

The first was in Nuremburg in 1894. It proposed to give oral counsel in matters of arbitration and insurance, protection of workers and inspection of labor, and above all to supply the defects of the special bureaus or editors of journals who already fulfilled this role. When written matter was necessary the Secretary corrected it. He assumes the systematic conduct of laborers suits. The institution was a great success. In 1895 and 1896 the number of consultations grew to 8,411; in 1897 a new Secretariat was founded at Stuttgart; in 1898 five others, then nine in 1899; eleven in 1900, six in 1901 and five in 1902; thirty-two exist to-day, four having failed to live. This is a heavy burden indeed for the federations which founded them. During the last year, 1902, 195,679 persons have sought the advice of the forty-one Secretaries (three at Nuremburg and Hamburg, two at Munich and Frankfort).

Quite recently the Congress of Stuttgart has completed this work. The labor secretaries were well able to maintain the causes of their clients in the legal tribunals of arbitration, but in Berlin before the Imperial insurance office this was impracticable. On the suggestion of the labor secretary of Munich, the unions decided to found a central Secretariat charged with the conduct of the appeals of the union workers to the Imperial office and all defense of their causes. He has entered upon his duty since April 1, 1903. He will have charge of the direction of the election of labor representatives. Eighteen thousand seven hundred and fifty francs have been voted for his annual expenses.

Thus throughout the whole hierarchy of their administrations the Imperial systems of insurance are being slowly invaded by labor organizations. Some day, without doubt, they will resurrect them, and the gigantic tree with numerous dry limbs, as the German statisticians are so pleased to present them, will then finally bear its fruit.

Of all the social institutions there are none which seem to remain outside of union activity. In order to draw all possible advantages from the arbitration councils (*Gewerbege-*

richte) the General Commission has aided in the efforts of organization of the laboring judges. And even those new corporations, the *Innungen* established by a law springing from the reactionary spirit of 1897, serve as means of activity of the organized working class. In 1902 in order to unite the resistance against a project of the "strike clause" which has diminished the efficiency of agreements in the decisions, the General Commission has placed itself in direct connection with the labor committees (*Gesellenausschüsse*) of the guild organizations. Even in this field, so little in accord with modern conditions of labor, the work of the labor organizations has crept in.

In consequence of this more extended activity the deficiencies and the views of these laws have become better understood and more sharply manifested, and the desire to ameliorate them has naturally become more active.

For the transformation of factory inspection, for the reform of the insurance system, for the changes in these institutions through the administrative work of the laborers, the unions have multiplied their petitions to the Reichstag or to the various assemblies. It was a publication of the unions which led to the debates in March, 1903, in that imposing congress of sick benefit associations which the news of a proposed law disadvantageous to them had suddenly resurrected. By the clearness of their demands and the ability of their representatives the unions to-day exercise an influence in the very working out of social laws.

This immense work has brought about profound changes in the unions themselves.

This was first evident in their relations to political parties. It has been frequently said that the unions have tended more and more to withdraw from political life in order to give their whole attention to their economic activity. This is false because impossible. By the very conditions that have developed them the German unions are forced to remain in constant close relation with the political parties; indeed, it was only through them that the unions were able to obtain the legislative reforms of which they had need. But while, in the beginning, the unions found themselves closely subordinated to the political parties, to-day it is parties that are becoming more and more subject to union influence. This constitutes a profound revolution, at least so far as the method of looking at things is concerned. "If the members of the centralized Unions" declared Legien, "belong to the Social Democratic Party, it is because that is the only party that energetically supports their demands." "If another should arise that would do the same," he added at Frankfort, "we should be perfectly ready

to enter into relations with it." This assuredly may be of great importance as affecting party tactics. If the congress of Social Democrats at Munich, for example, in 1902, felt the necessity of finally formulating a clear program on the question of insurance, was it not just because of union pressure? It must be remembered on the other hand, that at the last elections of June, 1903, there were a number of well known trade-union leaders among the eighty-one members elected to the Reichstag. It was the correspondent of the General Commission who, on July 4th, announced the labor policy which the party was to follow.

But it is not alone in this direct strength that the development of their influence has been of value to the unions. At the present time they receive other and more direct advantages.

Their continuous intervention in the application of the laws has given back to them the power for propaganda and solidarity, of which the imperial insurance system had at first deprived them. The secretariats, for example, have given their advice freely to non-unionists as well as to unionists; and as a consequence the former have been gained for the organization. As to the solidarity and the stability of their membership, in default of the benefit features, this is secured henceforth by the manifold services that the union renders to its members. From 1900 to 1902 German industry languished; enthusiastic enterprise had carried the producers too far; in short, a crisis was produced. Now, during this crisis when the trade unions were compelled to meet heavy expenses, they did not lose the greater part of their membership as had been the case formerly, during the years 1870 and 1880, and again from 1880 to 1890. In spite of the immense burden which the insurance against unemployment imposed upon some of them, in spite of the strict obligation for the remainder of the members to pay their dues promptly, after a slight depression in 1901, the unions began again to progress.

Finally, and most important of all, the work of these last years conquered a new position for them in the Empire. Willy nilly, in just the degree that social legislation developed their complex services, the government was forced to have recourse to their collaboration. If it really desired exact information from its inspectors concerning the operation of the laws it was necessary to tolerate their connection with the laborers. When it recognized the necessity of accurate statistics of the labor market, it was necessary to enter into communication with the general Unions who supplied it with reports upon their trades. When in 1903 the Division of Labor Statistics of the Imperial Statistical Office was confronted with this

necessity, it was compelled to enter into relations with the General Commission. And even if the government should some day decide to establish that insurance against unemployment, which the recent crisis has shown to be more and more indispensable, it cannot do it without the assistance of the unions. Still better, there exist to-day for the application of these laws, organs established by the initiative of the workers, and which the government, in turn, must protect and henceforth maintain under penalty of destroying its own work of social protection. The labor Secretariat of Beuthen, in Silesia, having been recognized by the authorities of that city as an industrial enterprise, and condemned for having neglected to make a report to three inquiries of the Minister of the Interior, re-establishes the true character of this institution. And finally, it is a fact of no small importance that representatives from two Ministries, that of the Empire and of Wurtemberg, were present at the Congress of Stuttgart, in 1902.

Count Posadowsky may, if he wishes, distinguish between the peaceful and the fighting activity of the unions, between their co-operation in legislative work and direct defense of wages. The labor organizations themselves do not make this distinction. It is as a part of the same work, unified and clearly defined, the protection and increase of proletarian strength, that they conduct strikes, conclude agreements, or participate in the works of social politics. It is by the same methodical and determined action, with the same strong solidarity and devotion, that they have secured higher wages, and that they have forced themselves upon a reactionary and despotic empire.

Finally, it is just because of these things that the German unions furnish such an excellent pattern. Because they have so accurately comprehended their work, and outlined it with such precision, and because they have not hesitated to collect from the whole field of social activity whatever might serve their purpose. From the day when their organizations became strong and coherent they have never hesitated; with confidence in the strength of the union spirit, and that spirit of ambition and of struggle that sustains them, they have never hesitated when necessary to participate in the socialism of an authoritative and bureaucratic state. And by this act of confidence, confidence in their own strength, they have been able to accomplish their whole task; and their hopes and their desires, far from being weakened, have been reinforced and strengthened.

More than by their stubborn and continuous renewal of the work of organization which has been constantly hindered

and opposed, more than by their obstinate struggle against capitalist hatred and governmental oppression, it is because of these daring and wise practices that the German unions have earned admiration.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRESENT CONDITION—1902-3.

At the end of 1902 the forces of the German trade union movement were as follows:

Name of Union.	Membership.	Comparison with 1901.
Hirsch-Duncker	102,851	+ 6,086
Christian unions	84,652	— 15
Independent Christian unions.....	105,248	+ 14,836
Independent unions	56,595	+ 6,994
Central unions (Socialist).....	733,206	+ 55,696
Local unions	10,090	+ 730
Total.....	1,092,642	+ 84,327

The industrial census of 1895 showed that there were six million laborers in Germany; according to these statistics, which we must use until 1905, between 16 and 17 per cent of the German laborers are organized. This is a respectable army, but as we know, its battalions are divided. It is necessary to know their respective strength.

Only two of the Hirsch-Duncker unions are of any importance: that of the machinists with 40,288 members and of the factory workers with 21,190, who thus have between them two-thirds of all the members. The other organizations are comparatively insignificant: the miners' union, for example, has only 501 members in all Germany. Finally, they have secured 100,000 members in 35 years, which for these well-organized unions which are provided with all forms of insurance and who have from an early period enjoyed uninterrupted peace, is a very small result. It is a movement without a future. Liberals indeed are few, and grow less and less numerous within the working class; and those who are indifferent and who desire most of all immediate advantages will go henceforth into the centralized unions which are ever stronger and richer. Their financial showing offers little encouragement. In spite of 6,000 new members in 1902 their expenses have exceeded their receipts by 70,885 francs.

In the second place the Christian unions, at least those that belong to the general union and who have shown so remarkable a development about 1900, no longer grow, but are decreasing.

Their central committee will not admit this. It confuses in its statistics societies which do not belong to it, or includes organizations of a non-union character. The trade papers have published the true statistics. The Christian movement seems to have lost ability to grow. Its strongest organization, that of the Westphalian miners, directed by Brust, and which appeared to have annihilated "the old union," that is, the Socialist union, now grows but slowly, having added only 372 members in the three months from January to April, 1903, while its competitor during the same period gained 1,000 members a month.

As to the Christian unions which do not belong to the Central union, only the new introduction into the statistics of societies previously existing, but not previously reported, makes it possible to figure out an increase. Taken in detail, with the exception of the railroad laborers' union which has today 47,151 members, the majority have decreased. Can it be that the voice of the pastors which has so often preached about the union duty of the Christian worker is no longer listened to?

Taken altogether, these various groups, Christian, centralized or independent, Hirsch-Duncker, liberals and socialist local unions, we have only a total of 359,000 members. On the other hand the sixty central unions with 733,000 members and with a still larger share of the total annual revenue of all unions (13,-872,180 francs out of 16,000,559 francs) constitute a compact, closely organized body animated by a single purpose.

To sum up, between 1901 and 1902 sixteen unions have lost members, and on the other hand three new unions, with 1,577 members, have given their allegiance to the Central Commission.

But this alone is not sufficient to explain the great increase of 55,696 members, 8.2 per cent, which has taken place during the time of the crisis. It is to the strength of their activity in the mass of German workers and their propaganda that it is necessary to attribute the increase of these unions. They alone represent in the trades where they exist nearly 14.42 per cent of all the laborers (17.29 per cent of the men and 3.13 per cent of the women).

* * *

In twenty-seven of the trades more than 20 per cent of the workers are organized, in fifteen more than 30 per cent. * * * It is the indisputable experience of the unions that when an organization includes more than 20 per cent of the workers in any trade, it constitutes an effective representation of the workers of that trade.

We have described the methods of work of the unions having a socialist tendency. When to this influence is added that exercised by the journals of their unions, which had a circulation, of 815,420 copies in 1902, the regularity of their admin-

istration, and when one compares them in all these things to the Christian unions—the scientific value of their inquiries and the statistical investigations undertaken by the General Commission, one begins to understand the predominant role which these organizations exercise in German unionism.

* * *

It is nevertheless true that a division exists and that 359,000 organized workers live outside of this group, and all those who wish to see a powerful union movement in Germany agree in deploring this fact. All history since 1868 has proven that it is only by concentration of the forces of laborers that their work can be rendered efficient. So it is that for some years the question of union, or of fusion, has occupied all the different groups.

In their successive congresses, at Frankfort, in 1900, at Crefeld in 1904, and Munich in 1902, the Christian unions have considered this question and in spite of the protestation of their religious directors, in spite of the commands of the Prussian bishops and of the archbishop of Freiburg, who were already denouncing them as schools of socialism, they have declared themselves in favor of uniting with these other unions, even with the Socialists, upon an absolutely neutral ground. They have considered that the final union must be a union in mixed organizations of all the laborers of each trade. Some of the more daring at the present time have spoken of amalgamation of the Christian and the Social Democratic societies, and they have even dared to advise that upon purely economic questions such, for example, as the struggle for wages, the two organizations should even now make it a practice of co-operating.

For their part the Hirsch-Duncker unions have not remained completely foreign to these ideas, and while at their last congress, that of Cologne, in 1901, they still maintained their famous declaration of 1876, requiring that each member declare that he did not belong to the Social Democratic party, this was only done this time after a very sharp struggle and largely because of the personal intervention of the old and always respected counsellor Dr. Hirsch.

Indeed, upon many of these points the other various groups have come together. It is not alone because of the very force of economic or political conditions, and often in spite of preconceived ideas that their tactics are unified, it is not simply that the same forms of organization and activity have imposed themselves upon all, but the unions, even those of the Christians, have protested against the politics of the Center and opposed the proposed attacks upon the right of coalition and the customs duties which

increase the price of food, and thereby reduces the vigor of the laborers. In one and the same town sometimes the struggle for wages has drawn the societies together. Four independent unions and one Hirsch-Duncker have entered into federations where they are regularly brought in contact with the socialists of the centralized unions and those of the local organizations.

But however helpful these more or less permanent unions may be for particular purposes, they cannot fulfill the hopes of those who wish to extend the efficiency of union activity to its maximum. The central unions have demonstrated that complete fusion without restriction is what is necessary. But in what form will this be? Would not the stronger, more coherent, numerous and wealthier organization dominate the others? And what guaranty has it then to offer to the members of the old organizations? The centralized unions are today the strongest and this question is therefore the one that is presented to them. It has necessarily become with them a question of their neutrality.

They have always undoubtedly been neutral since their foundation. Unlike the localists, in order to be able to federate, and later still after 1900, in order to include women in all the States, they have given up political activity. They have been neutral in still another manner, since they do not require any political or religious declaration of their members. They have never required that these should declare themselves anti-liberal or anti-Christian.

But it is none the less true that they were animated by the socialist spirit, that they were in constant communication with the socialist party, and that they participated in the entire life of the Social Democracy. Socialist deputies presided at their festivals, assisted in their propaganda, supported their demands, and among these deputies are many such as Legien and von Elm who were also trade union leaders. Moreover, has this connection seemed to contract the growth of the unions? Was it not rather the socialist thought which forced the laborers to organize? Have not all the bourgeois parties shown a fierce hostility to these organizations for defense? How is it possible for the unions to misunderstand the tireless devotion to the cause of the unions of the socialist faction of the Reichstag? In opposition to the liberal decay, the Socialist party has gained every five years thousands and thousands of votes. In opposition to the Hirsch-Duncker, the economic organization, like the party, is gaining little by little the entire proletariat.

About 1898 the formidable growth of the Christian unions showed that the laboring population was capable of trade organization, outside of the great unions, in opposition to socialism. And this was at a time when the assured benefits of centralization were apparent to every eye. Whatever might be the methods

of Christian propaganda, the fact was very disquieting. The miners' union disrupted, and even reduced by this propaganda, was the first to speak of neutralizing the union movement. Within the unions and within the Socialist party a great debate is going on. The union leaders supported at this time by Bebel have declared themselves partisans of neutrality. It was Bebel who in a celebrated speech in 1900 in the trade union building of Berlin declared that "politics ought to be driven out of the unions": that the union movement was not Social Democratic but a movement of the proletarian class. And the ardent faith of Bebel in the inevitable success of socialist propaganda removed the fear which inevitably presented itself to every mind of a possible division which might one day arise between the Socialist party and another proletarian party. The same confidence animated von Elm, when he still further defined the attitude of the two organizations, distinguishing the politics of labor interests, which belonged to the unions, from the party politics, and he showed how the union conventions set forth by their declarations the complaints and the wishes of all the organized workers of Germany, of which the party would finally have to take count. Indeed, it was recalled how in the debates it was the socialist fraction of the Reichstag which several times supported, during the last session, the petitions of the Christian workers which had been neglected by the Centre.

For a long time yet to come the close personal connection between the unions and the Socialist party, together with the accumulated prejudice of thirty years of oppositions and quarrels will force the German unions to confine themselves to simple understandings and loose federations.

But it seems to us that in the near future the true solution will be found in a compromise between the anti-parliamentarian union, and parliamentarianism restricted to a narrow representation of union interests, guaranteeing its special field to union activity without, however, separating it from the infinitely greater work of total emancipation. And once more it is through the clear conception of their true work and by the tenacity of their daily devotion that the German unions have worked out this solution.

ALBERT THOMAS.

Translated from the French by A. M. Simons.

Labriola on the Marxian Conception of History.

THE announcement that Labriola's "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History" would soon be made accessible to readers of English was greeted with vivid approval from all quarters of the American Socialist world. No one has graduated in scientific Socialism, until he is at home in the Marxian conception of history and has acquired the habit of analyzing the complex forms of human activity under bourgeois society from this standpoint. And a movement so earnest and eager to be in line with the advanced knowledge of European Socialists as the American is, realized the full importance of a firm grasp on the essence of socialist philosophy. Even if the fame of the brilliant author of those essays had not long preceded his book, the fact that it dwelt with the materialistic conception of history would have been sufficient to assure it of a warm reception. So it was a gratifying sign of the strong life of our American movement, that an army of impatient students delved into the rich mine of Labriola's work, as soon as it appeared in Comrade Kerr's translation.

The materialistic conception of history has never yet been clearly elaborated in all its important aspects, and Labriola's work is only an incomplete contribution toward this end. It still remains a moot question what should be the specific domain of this historical method. The form in which Marx first stated it, and in which he as well as Engels applied it, left much room for further investigation and more precise definition. They themselves have often emphasized this. It is a legacy bequeathed to the modern Socialist, which will furnish almost unlimited scope for pioneer work to a multitude of socialist thinkers. But the reader of Labriola's essays will at least get the impression that there is more to the Marxian conception of history than the glib repetition of the first Marxian formula conveys.

It cannot be denied that Labriola has made a giant effort to cover the whole field which is involved in the discussion of the Marxian historical method. With painstaking patience he advances from analysis to analysis, covering in a series of penetrating essays the whole process of history and opening up a variety of outlooks that leave us wondering at the immense sweep of the Marxian method of investigation. If Labriola has not succeeded in unraveling all the mysterious threads of history and in assigning to the various scientific dis-

ciplines their precise field, it is mainly because the human intellect is as yet hampered by too many unknown factors, and because even a monograph would find it difficult to draw the exact line where history merges into physics, or into psychology, or into chemistry, or into biology. Man, whose conscious or unconscious action has fashioned the complex structure of social organization, and who has thus created an environment of his own more or less conscious making, is nevertheless also under the constant influence of the natural environment, which he has not created, but which he is ever striving to control. And we shall not succeed in explaining history in all its interactions, until we shall have succeeded in explaining man to himself. This is one of the lessons which Labriola indirectly teaches.

But he also gives some positive lessons. Particularly in warning us not to fall into the error of the vulgar historians and of the thoughtless who interpret the Marxian conception of history too narrowly, or who attempt to transform it into a meaningless formula, he is fulfilling the mission which Marx himself has often assigned to socialist thought, viz., that of being a scientific method of investigation which is not alone objective toward the phenomena it investigates, but also never forgets to be objective towards itself. The reader who has worked his way through these essays will never again say that "economic conditions determine all human ideas or institutions," without at the same time pointing out how he wishes to be understood. And he will find himself stimulated to investigate the vast field of historical materialism for further knowledge.

But while I fully acknowledge the merits of Labriola's work, I cannot be blind to its shortcomings. The book would, in my opinion, have gained materially in strength, if its author had chosen a less academic and more popular form of expression. In its present form, the work will hardly be able to penetrate into the masses. It is even doubtful if the student who is not accustomed to critical reading, will gain a very clear conception of the scope of historical materialism by the perusal of this book. The formation of a clear insight into the subject is rendered still more difficult by the mistakes of the author, who himself occasionally forgets to follow the advice which he gives to others. This must be pointed out, not only to anticipate our bourgeois critics, but also to advise the student to closely analyze the statements of the author, before adopting them as a basis for further study.

In his first essay, on the "Communist Manifesto," Labriola says, on page 11, that "there are no historical experiences but those that history makes itself." Leaving aside the fact that

this is a rather indistinct statement, we pass on to read that "it is as impossible to foresee them as to plan them beforehand or make them to order." This is only partially true, and at any rate contradicts many other statements made in the same essay. For instance, we read on page 10, that the present social form is "showing by its present necessity the inevitability" of the triumph of Socialism. And on page 13, that Marx and Engels had "anticipated the events which have occurred," and that critical communism "had an eye only to the future." And on page 14, Labriola calls the Communist Manifesto a "funeral oration" on the departure — of a bourgeoisie which was just on the upward grade of its career when the Manifesto was written. Again, as a proof that we can foresee historical experiences, we read on page 16 that the Manifesto "predicts the final result of the class struggle." And on page 17, Labriola says that there is a friction in present society, and asks whether it "will end by breaking and dissolving it." He answers himself on page 18, that the modern proletariat is "the positive force whose necessarily revolutionary action must find in communism its necessary outcome." In short, he admits that we can look into the future and predict historical events.

Incidentally I must remark, that the statement on page 11, declaring that "none of these parties feels the dictatorship of the proletariat so near that it experiences the need or the desire or even the temptation to examine anew and pass judgment upon the measures proposed in the Manifesto," was true when the author wrote it, but does no longer apply to the American Socialist Party, for we have questioned the soundness of retaining the so-called immediate demands as a part of our national platform. True, we have done so, not because we feel the dictatorship of the proletariat impending, but mainly on grounds of scientific logic.

In the first chapter of his second essay, on historical materialism, Labriola takes up the question of terms and scores what he calls, on page 95, "that vice of minds educated by literary methods alone which is ordinarily called *verbalism*." Now verbalism, as commonly understood, is the habit of clinging to words, rather than examining the thing for which the word is but a label. Of course, this can apply only to moot points, where the discussion is compelled to operate with terms that have not been universally accepted as the only correct ones. But in such a discussion there is another "vice" fully as bad as this sort of verbalism, namely that of using terms not universally accepted without justifying them. This is but another, and more subtle form of verbalism, because it attempts to make the word stand for the thing itself.

Such a practice is only admissible where the word has come to stand, by common consent, for but one thing. But if it were admissible in the field under discussion, where the terminology is not yet stable, then the rebuke to the verbalists would not be sound. Yet Labriola is a subtle verbalist of this kind, who censures the common verbalists.

No science can get along without clearly defined terms. We cannot learn the nature of a thing by examining its label. That is the method of common verbalism. But neither are we contributing to a clearer understanding of a partially known thing, when we omit to justify the choice of our label. That is what Labriola has done. In asking him for a sharp definition of his terms, I am not concerned with the terms themselves, but with the things which his terms are supposed to label. Labriola cannot escape from this criticism by hiding behind a criticism of the common verbalists. But apart from this, other reasons compel us to insist on clear definitions. First, human language, and especially technical language, is seldom precise enough to express any exact meaning by a mere term. Secondly, socialist thought can only connect itself with the intellectual stock in trade of its time and give its own precise meaning to the terms it uses. The socialist writer who introduces new technical terms without defining them, does not only render the study of the subject more difficult for the inexperienced student, but also offers new opportunities for the common verbalist to confuse matters.

On these grounds, many of us might feel inclined to ask Labriola why he prefers to call "historical materialism" what some of us think would be better designated by "economic determinism" or by "Marxian conception of history," terms which we might well justify without being classed among the common verbalists. And still more might some of the comrades object to the unjustified return, on the part of the translators, to such Latin terms as *processus*, *complexus*, *plexus* and *nexus*. That is a revival of the "exclusive" practices of old-time science, not a step toward a proletarian terminology. Suitable modern terms might well have been found for them in French and English.

But while Labriola operates with his own terminology without justifying it, he quibbles through long pages over such terms as *logic of events* and *historical factors*, which not only bourgeois but also socialist writers are employing, and for which they no doubt can offer as good reasons as he would for his terms.

Again, while he is very severe on the common verbalists, he makes no attempt to give his readers a taste of the essence of such terms as *matter*, *mind*, *psychology*, *imagination*, *soul*,

the role of which must be defined in attempting to elaborate the materialist conception of history. When he repeats the statement of Marx, on page 113, that "it is not the forms of consciousness which determine the human being, but it is the manner of being which determines consciousness," and elaborates it into the declaration, on page 121, that "the discovery of these (social) instruments is at once the cause and the effect of these conditions and of those forms of the inner life, to which, isolating them by psychological abstraction, we give the name of imagination, intellect, reason, thought, etc.," he leaves us in the mazes of a meaningless and unintelligible jumble of words. The point which must be clearly stated when attempting to define the role of human brain activity in the Marxian conception of history, is this: The materialist conception of history is not scientifically demonstrated, until we prove the *materialist conception of thought*. The sentence of Labriola quoted by me can hardly be regarded as an emphasis on this point.

Equally hazy is Labriola in his treatment of the relation of natural science, and especially of Darwinism, to Socialism. He cautions us, for instance, not to make of the materialist conception of history a "derivative of Darwinism" (page 19), but at the same time admits, on page 150, that "the different disciplines which are considered as isolated and independent in the hypotheses of the concurrent factors in the formation of history, both by reason of the degree of development which they have reached, the materials which they have gathered, and the methods which they have elaborated, have today become indispensable for us." And he quotes with approval "the analogy affirmed by Engels between the discovery of historical materialism and that of the conservation of energy." But although he warns us thus, and quotes the above illustration of a permissible analogy, he himself carries the analogy too far by declaring, on page 35, that "the death of a social form like that which comes from natural death in any other branch of science becomes a *physiological case*."

Nevertheless, the book is very suggestive. Its shortcomings, instead of discouraging the socialist thinkers, should rather stimulate them to a deeper penetration of the problems of the Marxian conception of history.

ERNEST UNTERMANN.

Comment by the Translator of Labriola.

IT IS a matter for the deepest regret that the interesting points raised by Comrade Untermann can never be discussed by the one writer most competent to throw light upon them—Comrade Labriola. Since that is no longer possible, I desire to comment briefly on a few of Comrade Untermann's criticisms.

It seems to me that the inconsistency pointed out in the passage extending from the tenth to seventeenth page is more apparent than real. Evidently the author merely meant to say that it is impossible to forecast the course of events in their minor details, and that on this account it is in the nature of things impracticable to draw up a definite and concrete working program which will be of value fifty years after it is written. On the other hand, the socialist philosophy does afford a basis for predicting the general tread of the development of society, and none of the sentences quoted seem to me to imply more than this.

I cannot agree with Comrade Untermann in saying that the vice of verbalism "can apply only to moot points, where the discussion is compelled to operate with terms that have not been universally accepted." On the contrary, I believe that verbalism, in the sense Labriola uses the word, stands for a widespread mental habit—a habit almost inevitably acquired under current educational systems by those whose training has been literary rather than scientific. Verbalism, as Labriola uses the word, and as it is ordinarily used, so far as I know, means simply the centering of attention and effort upon words rather than upon the facts that the words stand for. The verbalist would, for example, if called on to explain a passage in the Hebrew or Christian scriptures, confine himself to a critical examination of the words contained in the text, whereas the scientific student would search for outside information which might help to make clear what real things or events were in the mind of the writer.

It seems to me that Comrade Untermann, in appropriating the words verbalist and verbalism to an entirely different use, is affording a most conspicuous example of the offence with which he charges Labriola.

Nor do I believe the charge will hold. Comrade Untermann may prefer some other phrase to "historical materialism," but that is the phrase used by Engels in "Socialism Utopian and Scientific," and Vandervelde, who also objects to the phrase, admits that it has become current, and uses it constantly in his article published in the February issue of the REVIEW.

As to the criticism on the use of Latin terms, the fault, if it is

a fault, is mine, and not Labriola's. The most important case is that of the word *processus*, which recurs constantly throughout the book. In adopting the word, I followed the French version, in which it is used rather than the corresponding French word, although a modern word was used in the original Italian. Now the French translator was evidently right in his choice of a word, since the French word of corresponding form means a "process" in the sense of a law-suit, and would have been wholly misleading to the reader. In the first draft of my own translation, I actually used the word "process," but in my final revision I adopted the word "*processus*" for fear of obscuring the sense. The word "process" as usually understood implies a definite operation for accomplishing some concrete piece of work. But Labriola, in using the word I have called *processus*, evidently means the sum-total of the operations of various forces which modify humanity or a definite group of human beings. I dislike the needless use of Latin phrases, but I think that the use of the Latin word here is less puzzling to the reader than the use of the misleading English word.

Nothing is easier than to quote a highly condensed sentence on a difficult subject, taking it out of its context, and call it a meaningless and unintelligible jumble of words. But I believe the careful reader will find that Labriola has given us a highly suggestive thought in the derided paragraph on page 121. Theologians and phrenologists talk of imagination, intellect, reason, thought and a host of subordinate "faculties" as if they were distinct entities divinely created. But what is the rational way to regard them? Labriola tells us that they are the result of the increasing complexity of human life resulting from the invention and use of constantly improving tools. These forms of the inner life are at once the effect and the cause of the discovery of the improved instruments, since every discovery calls for relatively more intelligence and less brute force in the productive processes by which men get their bread, and on the other hand, every increase in intelligence makes greater discoveries possible.

I am forced to admit that our author's treatment of the relation of historical materialism to biology is the least satisfactory part of his work. But we have to specialize in these days, and Labriola's specialty was history, not biology. Comrade Untermann is a trained biologist, and we are looking eagerly for his completion of a study of the relation of brain to mind which will supply a needed link in the continuity of socialist thought.

Meanwhile, with our regret for the untimely end of Labriola's life-work, we have a right to rejoice over the important task he has accomplished in clarifying for the socialists of all countries the fundamental conception of historical materialism.

CHARLES H. KERR.

How to Get the Co-Operative Commonwealth.

THE Socialist worthy the name wants Socialism to come in his or her time and welcomes any means to bring it about.

You must be filled with an intense *desire* for it; a desire that brooks no obstacles. It is of no use to wait for "economic conditions." Economic conditions alone will not bring it in a hundred thousand years. The task of the Socialist is to present a definite brain picture of what is wanted to as many workers as possible, the only people that can bring Socialism about, and fill them with an overwhelming desire to have the conception materialized.

This will seem like rank heresy to many and I hear cries of Utopian! But here is an illustration. About a year and a half ago I started to build a boat and had the frame set up when something occurred that made me disgusted with things in general (not with the boat) and I lost all interest and have not done anything on it since.

I have the material, tools, a place to build, the ability and the time—all the material conditions are there—but my desire is practically nil and the boat remains unbuilt.

Another thing; we want Socialism in order that we may become the better men and women, but we must exercise some manhood and womanhood in order to get it and there is nothing that will so arouse in you a proper pride and dignity, making you assert your manhood and womanhood, refusing to be a slave, as reading and absorbing Whitman.

Begin in a small way to refuse indignities from your foreman, superintendent, anyone! You will not lose your job, and if you should you will not starve; by thinking you will and slinking about like a cur you invite starvation. Quit it!

Brace up and take a stand!

Men and women are needed to build the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Be one of them.

WM. JOHNSON.

EDITORIAL

Some Suggestions for the Convention.

It is a matter of course that the National Convention of the Socialist Party which is to meet at Chicago on the first of next May will be the most important gathering for the Socialists of America that has ever been held. It will only be exceeded in importance by the next one, and that by the next until the powers of government shall finally be captured by the intelligently and constructively revolutionary working class of America. There will be an overwhelming amount of work to be done at that convention and if it is to be well done it is necessary that every bit of energy be utilized in the best possible manner. Hence every effort should be made to have all matters thoroughly discussed and understood, not only by the delegates, but by the entire membership, before the convention meets. There will still be much time wasted over trivial matters, which will in turn require important ones to be hurried through with scant consideration in the closing hours. There will be comrades who will insist on making propaganda speeches to the assembled delegates, and who will seize every opportunity to go on record as to the genuineness of their class-consciousness and proletarian character, even though by so doing they hinder the work of making more class-conscious socialists and thereby help to perpetuate proletarian slavery. Committees will work all night, and then struggle all day to explain what they did the night before. All these things are inevitable accompaniments of a convention in which work is actually done, in contrast to those of the capitalist parties which only meet to ratify the orders of their masters.

But much time can be saved if the party press will open their columns at once for a full discussion of the matters which will probably occupy the time of the convention and if the comrades will make use of the pages of that press for such discussion. If it were once understood that such articles really have much more effect than speeches made upon the floor of the convention comrades would probably be more anxious to take advantage of the opportunity to express their opinions to the vastly greater audience of the party press, rather than to the few delegates who will be assembled in Chicago next May.

One of the questions which will be sure to come before the convention

will be the revision of the constitution to accord with the increased and altered duties that have devolved upon the party organization. There is manifestly too great and justifiable dissatisfaction with the present organization of the National Committee to permit its continuance unchanged. The system of plural voting is too unfair to be maintained, while it is equally certain that the membership will never consent to the even more dangerous and unfair condition that existed prior to the introduction of the present system, under which a mere handful of the least experienced and tested portion of the membership could control the whole party.

Some means must also be found for the regulation and control of socialist agitation in the lecture field. We are getting too close to the time when we will be brought into the midst of the fight of capitalist politics, with all that implies, to permit any "free lance" who chooses to implicate the party in his vagaries, or perhaps trickery. Whatever plan is adopted for the control of speakers should also include some method of obtaining complete reports from them and also a certain standard of requirements in the way of study of socialist classics for those who enter the field in the future.

The question of platform will occupy much of the time of the convention. There will be those who will insist upon the sufficiency of a simple categorical declaration of some of the principles of Socialism. There will be others who will wish to include as a part of our platform a long string of reforms as "immediate demands." Indeed, it is probable that around this question will wage the fiercest fight of the convention. This is somewhat unfortunate, and also somewhat ridiculous, as the question is really of decidedly minor importance. It is especially unfortunate that the attitude of a party member on this question has been construed into a sort of test of orthodoxy, and many a comrade whose knowledge of Socialism is decidedly scant, still points with pride to the fact that is against all "immediate demands" as sure proof of his scientific equipment in socialist doctrine. Our opinion has been stated on this point so often that we shall not repeat it here, although we shall probably have something to say on this in our next issue. Suffice to say now that we believe everything else aside from the declaration for the capture of the powers of government by the working-class to be of such minor importance, that we are convinced all else should appear in the form of an independent declaration of measures to be supported by socialists who may chance to be elected to office, while a majority of the governmental powers remain in capitalist hands, and as such should not be considered as a part of Socialism.

There are several things that seem to us of much more real importance for the work of the Socialist Party at the present stage than some of the things which will probably occupy the majority of the attention of the convention. In the first place, about the only offices of any importance which we are apt to capture during the next two or three years will be municipal offices. Hence there is the greatest need for some guide for the

intelligent action of such officers. This does not mean that we should have a national municipal platform. Such a thing would be manifestly absurd here, although the Guesdists of France, who are generally considered to have the most extremely revolutionary position of any Socialist party in the world, have always had such a platform. What is needed, however, is rather a source of general information. It seems to us that this could be best obtained by the establishment of a municipal secretary located in the national office, with a municipal committee, composed of all Socialists elected to municipal office, and such other persons as the Party might from time to time appoint; this committee to have only consulting and advisory powers.

The question of our relation to the farmers and the negroes will also come up. Whether it is advisable to have any special declaration with regard to either of these classes or not, it is hard to say. At any rate it might be well to arrange for investigation of these subjects, and thus obtain a more intelligent knowledge concerning them than exists at the present time. We do not believe that special resolutions for any classes of people are advisable, but there should be some uniformity of attitude toward these problems, and the convention may well consider how this uniformity can be best attained.

It will have to be determined whether our present resolution really expresses the present attitude of the party toward trade-unions, and also whether the Socialist Party as a whole looks with favor upon the efforts which are frequently made to secure the adoption of resolutions by trade union conventions endorsing the Party. Also what shall be the attitude toward unions that have adopted such resolutions? Shall it differ from our attitude toward the avowed "pure and simplers"?

There are some things which can be at least informally discussed during the convention period, which perhaps may not properly come before the convention. One of these which, in our opinion, however, is of sufficient importance to justify the attention of the convention in an official manner, is the co-ordination and publication of socialist matter. The Socialist press has now reached sufficient size to render advisable the formation of some sort of "news association" or "syndicate" for the purpose of regularly furnishing matter. By charging a very low rate for each paper a sufficient income could be obtained to permit the payment of news-gatherers and writers where necessary. Many socialists have already considered this matter and it would seem possible that some informal meetings held prior to, or between the sessions of the convention, might evolve something definite, which would be of greatest value to the Socialist movement of this country.

This matter will be especially pertinent at this convention since it will certainly be necessary to organize some sort of literature committee for the presidential campaign and it will be easily possible to keep this idea in mind, so that at the close of the campaign this committee may be rendered permanent and take up these other duties.

If any of the above suggestions are carried out it will require con-

siderable change in the character, and addition in amount of the work of the national office. The question may be suggested if it is not well to definitely recognize the need of some such changes and to prepare for them. The membership should reach at least 50,000 within the coming year. This will mean a monthly income of \$2,500. At the same time, as the various states become better organized the need of national organizers drawing a salary from the national office will grow rather less than greater. At least it should do so, if the state organizations are not to become merely superfluous institutions. Under these conditions the national office should become the great center of information and co-ordination. It should carry on investigations, and disseminate the results of such information as it may secure to the party press, and local organizations. It should be capable of concentrating the strength of the national party upon any locality where the membership should decide such emphasis was necessary.

This leads to another point which may well come before the convention, and that is the desirability and advisability of holding a national convention for purposes of discussion at closer intervals than four years. The "off-year" meeting need have no official power except to send matters to a referendum, and hence could work no disadvantage to those localities unable to send delegates. It might be modeled rather after the yearly conventions of scientists, teachers, etc., than of political bodies, admitting to its privileges all party members and confining its work to discussion of party policies.

These are some of the things that the meeting next May will probably discuss, with perhaps several others as yet unforeseen. Their decision will be fraught with good or evil for the future of Socialism. In order that they may be decided as intelligently and as democratically as possible we are going to do all in our power to have them thoroughly understood by the entire party membership. To do this we shall make our April number a "Convention Number." We have asked for contributions on these subjects from a large number of party comrades and hereby extend the invitation to any of our readers who may not have received a personal communication. Confine your opinions to one thousand words if possible, as we shall have more than we can publish in our space and will therefore select the shortest and most pointed. They must all be at the office by March 20 at the latest and the sooner they arrive the better.

SOCIALISM ABROAD

The International Socialist Bureau.

The International Socialist Bureau met on Sunday, February 6, at the Maison du Peuple of Brussels. Comrade Edouard Vaillant represented the Socialist party of France.

Action was taken in the way of preparation for the International Congress, the date of which will soon be fixed.

The Interparliamentary Socialist Commission is to be called together principally for the purpose of examining the question of legislation touching foreign laborers proposed in various countries.

On motion of Comrade Cambier, representing the Argentine Republic, the following resolution was adopted:

The International Socialist Bureau protests energetically against the expulsion of any one from any country as a punishment for his opinions: it denounces in particular the conduct of the Argentine government which is taking advantage of an accidental law, called law of residence, to expel the foreign socialists in a body.

The delegates of several nations presented and secured the acceptance of a resolution reading as follows:

The International Socialist Bureau protests energetically against the persecutions on the part of the police and the government to which the Russian socialists in Germany are victims;

It condemns severely the policy of humiliating servitude which degrades Germany to the role of an instrument for Russian despotism;

It congratulates the German and Italian socialists upon their successful intervention in favor of the Russian comrades persecuted by czarism;

It calls upon the socialist parties of all countries to grasp every occasion to combat the influence of czarism, which is endeavoring to extend itself more and more through western countries and constitutes a permanent danger for democracy and civilization.

SINGER,
KAUTSKY,
ROSA LUXEMBURG,
PLEKHANOFF,
ADLER,
E. VANDERVELDE.

The present situation in Europe has moreover led the Bureau to adopt this declaration prepared by Comrade Vaillant:

The Bureau:

In the event that through the crime of the governments and of capitalism, war should break out between Russia and Japan,

Invites the Socialists of all countries and particularly the socialist parties of France, England and Germany, to struggle with all their courage and with their combined efforts to oppose every extension of the war, and

to make their respective countries, instead of participating in it, endeavor to re-establish and to maintain peace.

Finally the provisional programme for the Amsterdam Congress was arranged as follows:

1. International regulations for the Socialist party. Resolutions concerning the tactics of the party. (Socialist Party of France.)
2. Colonial politics (Hyndman and Van-Kol).
3. Emigration and immigration (Argentine Republic).
4. General strike (Socialist Party of France).
5. Social politics and workingmen's insurance (the eight-hour day).
6. Trusts and lack of employment (United States).
7. Various questions.

Belgium.

The socialists are making a great effort to secure the introduction of universal education. At the present time the schools are extremely poor and are controlled entirely by the Church. Vandervelde has recently made a speech in the Chamber which has attracted attention, not only in Belgium, but throughout Europe. He showed the large number of illiterates which existed and compared them with the statistics of criminality, showing the close connection between crime and lack of education. Thirteen per cent of the Belgian recruits to the army can neither read nor write. Forty-five per cent can read and write and have a slight knowledge of arithmetic, and only 12 per cent have had any higher instruction. In the country nearly all the children are compelled to leave school at eleven or twelve years of age and what little they have learned is soon forgotten, and they go to increase the number of illiterates. Langendonk, another socialist member, demanded the introduction of school restaurants to furnish free meals for the school children. The leader of the clericals, Woeste, attempted to reply, but his speech consisted simply of a song of praise of the clerical schools. He finally let the cat out of the bag, however, and revealed the true cause of his position when he declared that in Germany compulsory education had led to socialism, and that in France there had been more strikes since education had been bettered than in Belgium.

France.

The situation in France remains somewhat confused. The Local to which Millerand belongs has upheld him and has, in turn, been expelled from the party.

Jaures was defeated for re-election as vice-president of the Chamber, and this has resulted in a division of the forces of the Left.

The body which is ordinarily referred to in English as radical socialist and which is more properly designated as Socialistic radical has been defeated and sixty-five members are now forming a group by themselves with much more of a tendency to support clearly socialist measures than hitherto.

The following from Edouard Vaillant shows the attitude of the French Socialists in regard to the Russian alliance. Such an expression of opinion means more from Vaillant than perhaps from any other man, because he knows very well what insurrection means. It may be well to remember in this month when we celebrate the Commune that he is one of the three

or four men still living who belonged to that little group of men who composed the governing committee of the Commune. He is today a member of the Chamber of Deputies.

REBELLION PREFERABLE TO WAR.

The newspapers abound in information of a tranquilizing and pacific character: M. Delcassé has said this to M. Cochin, and he has said that to M. Pressensé, and he will, if necessary, say the same things again to the Chamber of Deputies in case it should seem to be disturbed and to require that soporific. But the same newspapers, full of their devotion to the Czar, are working up public opinion to sustain a possible intervention in his behalf.

We would gladly hope, even yet, that the government might find some way to cut our country loose from any rash or criminally imbecile engagement into which it may have brought itself. The fact is, however, that the evidence is complete of a mortal danger for civilization and for ourselves in the monstrous alliance between the French republic and the autocracy of the Czar.

We ought therefore to prepare ourselves for everything, even the folly and crime of our ministry and Parliament. The patriotism of which they boast as if it were their exclusive possession should suffice to preserve us. But if their weakening intelligence and decision should leave us to drift into war, this danger must be faced by us. And we can do this, if we will.

Whatever else a European war may mean, it means this: militarism founding its empire through murder and bloodshed in France, drained of its blood, ruined, brought under the rule of a monarch, isolated among the hostile nations of England, Germany and Italy. It means civilization set back, the proletarian revolution deferred, reaction and capitalism triumphant.

That shall not be, it must not be.

The greatness of socialism is that in its action, whatever its motive may be, it sums up everything that it proposes for itself, and that its action against war is one and the same with its action for the emancipation of the proletariat.

Therefore, we must not hesitate, and henceforth we must recognize what we may have to do. And if the international and national proletariat appealed to by us does not respond sufficiently, and does not succeed through its general strike in defending itself, in defending its life, its demands, its emancipation, then our duty to act, and to shrink from nothing to save it, to face the danger, to avoid war, would be all the greater. There is no blessing superior to peace, to international peace. There is nothing which is not preferable to war.

Better rebellion than war.

EDOUARD VAILLANT.

Italy.

Italian and International Socialism have suffered a severe loss. Antonio Labriola died in Rome on February 2, from the consequences of a tracheotomy to which he had been compelled to submit. He was 62 years old. One of our sharpest and clearest thinkers has thus departed.

He was no agitator. He kept aloof from practical politics, although he possessed a great understanding for it. He remained all his life what he was at the beginning of his scientific career: a critical philosopher and historian. His first works were of a purely philosophical nature. They dealt with the doctrine of Socrates (1871), free will (1873), morals and

religion (1875), historical instruction (1876), and problems of the philosophy of history (1887).

After that his thought entered new fields. He came to Marxian socialism, not by way of philanthropy, nor on the road of political rebellion, but Marxism was for him rather the completion of his philosophy.

Of the works which he now published, the most important are his three essays on the materialist conception of history. The first of these, entitled, "In Memory of the Communist Manifesto," appeared in 1895, the second, on "Historical Materialism," in 1896, and the third, on "Socialism and Philosophy," in 1898. These works have since been published in many editions, and were also translated into French.

They belong to the best creations in the international Marxian literature and have exerted an especially clarifying influence on the thought of the Italian socialists. If Italian socialism arose superior to the confusion of Mazzinism, Bakounism, and Bastiatism, in which it was submerged only two decades ago, this is due in a large measure to Labriola's writings. And it is above all thanks to him that there are any Marxian socialists in Italy today.

He exerted his influence not alone by writing, but also by speaking, by his lectures at the university of Rome, of which he was a professor, and where he daringly and frankly taught Socialism.

Both the Italian and the international Socialist movement owe a debt of gratitude to Labriola. They will both honor his memory as that of a great thinker and a true man.—*Vorwaerts*.

A short notice in *Vorwaerts* states that Ferri has been condemned to fourteen months imprisonment and a fine of 14,116 lire. This is, in spite of the fact that he has so thoroughly proved his charges against Bettolo that the latter has been practically driven out of public life. It seems to have been a case of the "greater the truth the greater the libel."

Russia.

The Russian Social Democracy was created in 1898 upon the initiative of some local organizations which had been formed in the great industrial centers during the years 1895 and 1897. But the party existed only in name and the only trace it has left to us of this first congress is a manifesto containing an expression of its aspirations. Since then the number of local organizations has increased considerably and the liberal movement of the country has taken on new vigor, but the local committees remained isolated without common direction or programme. This division of the strength of the party could not last without greatly injuring the political and economic struggle.

The committee of organization which had the task of preparing for the second congress—and one knows how difficult such a task is in Russia—took the greatest care to secure a representation of all the organizations of the party. The list as it is completed is composed of fourteen committees, three federations, one league of the laborers, two committees of the Bund, the administration of *Iskra* (the *Star*), the groups for the freeing of labor and of the laborers of the south, and two organizations of Russian social democrats abroad who sent their delegates to assist the revolutionary proletariat of Russia.

The first work of the convention was to examine the programme prepared by the editorial staff of *Iskra*. This programme, which was adopted by the congress, contains a series of propositions such as are found in all Marxist programmes, stating the contradictions of the capitalist society, the tasks which belong to the socialist party, and lastly the dominion of the proletariat and socialization of the means of production and distribu-

tion. This is followed by a minimum programme enumerating the economic reforms which are necessary to be obtained at the present time under the capitalist regime. This portion is also to be found in all the platforms of the socialist parties. But, there is something in our platform which is found in no other socialist platform, and this is the following passage: "In Russia, where capitalist production already occupies a dominant place, there still remain numerous vestiges of our old regime which was based upon the servitude of the laboring masses attached to the proprietorship of the feudal domains, to the State, or to its officials. These remnants greatly hinder the economic progress of the country and the free operation of the strength of the proletariat. They also favor the maintenance of the most barbarous methods of exploitation among the millions of peasants by the State and the possessing classes, and they maintain in obscurity and slavery the entire people. Czarism is the most important of all these survivals and the most powerful protector of all this barbarity. Hostile by its nature to every social and liberating movement, it is necessarily the most violent enemy of all aspirations of the proletariat. Therefore the social democratic laboring party of Russia must struggle in the first place for the abolition of the czarist autoeracy and its replacement by a democratic republic.

According to the Constitution adopted by the party the base of the organization is to be found in local committees whose duties consist in directing the agitation in their respective districts. The direction of affairs of general interest belongs to a central committee, while the control of the attitude of the party in questions of principle is left with the editorial staff of the central organ. The supreme governing body of the party is the congress, which meets every two years.

The congress has adopted the journal *Iskra* as central organ of the party and in this manner has declared its agreement with the tendencies of this journal.

B. G., in *L'Avenir Social*.

THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Max S. Hayes.

Whatever differences of opinion may have existed between the workers of the East and the West regarding jurisdiction, political action and similar questions have been almost completely obliterated by the heroic battle of the miners in the Rocky Mountain regions. The fact is there never was much enmity among the rank and file of those sections. As usual, the leaders, so-called, were responsible for whatever antagonisms may have existed. But the splendid, class-conscious spirit in which the western men have fought against combined capitalism and its governmental puppets has aroused the admiration of the organized workers all over the land, and just now they are collecting funds to assist the strikers to continue their battle until it has been won. That they will win seems almost certain. Governor Peabody has called the militia from the field and sent an open letter to the combined mine operators advising them to settle with the unionists. Peabody has damage suits aggregating \$1,200,000 filed against him, while his masters, the operators, have spent many more millions to defeat the workers, and the cost to the State has been enormous. To show the villainous conduct of those in control of the political power it is well worth quoting the specific charges made against them by the Colorado trade unionists and Socialists, which have not been and cannot be controverted, and every organized worker who reads the following ought to consider it his or her duty to raise every dollar possible to assist the brave and hardy western strikers to gain the victory for which they have so nobly fought. The cause of the strike and the detailed actions of the authorities as charged in public assemblages are:

"First—The people of Colorado at the general election of 1902 adopted an amendment to the State constitution by 40,000 majority empowering the legislature to enact a law making eight hours a legal day's work in mines, mills and smelters.

"Second—The Republican and Democratic parties elected representatives and senators on platforms pledging them to the enactment of an eight-hour law, so that the whole legislature, except the holdover senators, were pledged to that measure, as were also the executive officers of the State Government.

"Third—The Legislature, which convened in January, 1903, absolutely disregarded the pledges made in the platforms on which the members were elected and at the dictation of the mine and smelter owners refused to enact an eight-hour law.

"Fourth—The Governor, elected also on a platform pledging the people an eight-hour law, when calling an extra session of the Legislature to provide for the salaries of the State officials, refused to include the consideration of an eight-hour law in his call for said extra session.

"Fifth—As a result of this wanton and criminal disregard of solemn pledges voluntarily made by the legislative and executive branches of the State Government, the Western Federation of Miners declared a strike,

first at Colorado City and later in the Telluride and Cripple Creek districts, for the purpose of securing an eight-hour working day.

"Sixth—The strikes so declared were peaceful and orderly, and the communities effected were as free from rioting and other disorderly manifestations as they were before the strikes were declared. This has been repeatedly testified to by the sheriffs and other civil officers of the counties in whose territory the strikes were being enforced.

"Seventh—In the face of these facts, Gov. James H. Peabody, at the request—not of the sheriffs or civil officers of the counties affected—but of the owners of mines and smelters, sent the State militia to Co'orado City, and afterward to Cripple Creek and Telluride, for the avowed purpose of breaking the strikes, and not for the purpose of maintaining law and order.

"Eighth—The militia, sent into those counties against the protest of the civil officers under the general direction of the Governor and his adjutant general, Sherman Bell, have trampled upon the rights guaranteed to citizens by the constitution of the State of Colorado and the constitution of the United States in a most relentless and defiant manner, as herein-after specified.

"First—They have arrested citizens without warrant or other process of law.

"Second—They have incarcerated citizens in military prisons reeking with filth and vermin and so crowded and ill-ventilated as to almost rival the infamous 'black hole' of Calcutta.

"Third—They have defied the officers of the civil courts, refusing to accept service of processes issued against them by courts of competent jurisdiction.

"Fourth—They have denied the writ of habeas corpus by refusing to bring prisoners into court when ordered to do so by the officers of the court.

"Fifth—They have invaded the courts during their sessions with bodies of armed men, to terrify the judges and officers of the said courts and prevent them from rendering judgment in accord with the law and the evidence.

"Sixth—They have deprived the people of Teller county of the right to bear arms, and they have, without warrant, invaded the sanctity of homes of the people, by unlawfully entering said homes in their search for arms.

"Seventh—They have suppressed a free press by instituting a military censorship over the newspapers published in the strike districts.

"Eighth—They have invaded the business places of well-known citizens and have shot them down for defending their property.

"Ninth—They have arrested peaceful and law-abiding citizens, without warrant, as vagrants, and have imprisoned them, put them to work as convicts on the rock-pile, or deported them from their homes, solely because they refused to go to work as strike-breakers.

"Tenth—They have committed all these and other outrages upon citizens of Colorado, in defiance of the laws and constitution of the state and of the United States, for the purpose of destroying the labor unions.

"Eleventh—They have usurped this authority and established a military despotism in Colorado, in the interest of the capitalist class, using the military power of the state to advance the financial and commercial interests of the said capitalist class, and to crush organized labor."

With the ending of the scale year in the iron and steel industry, on June 30, there will be inaugurated one of the greatest struggles between organized labor and capital that this country has known in recent years. Shortly after the Boston convention of the A. F. of L. the writer was informed by a prominent manufacturer in Cleveland that he had learned that the iron and steel masters were determined to wipe out every vestige of unionism in their plants and that they had carefully laid their plans

to begin the onslaught the coming summer. Expressing some doubts that war would be declared because of the pending Presidential campaign, my informant declared substantially: "The United States Steel Corporation is coming under new management. The Rockefeller and Frick interests are becoming dominant, and everybody knows they are antagonistic to union labor upon general principles. They do not fear political results, either. They care very little whether or not Roosevelt is defeated, as they are satisfied that the Democrats, having been 'reorganized,' will nominate a 'safe' man, like Cleveland or Olney, and their interests will be fully protected." This statement is now verified by a report from Pittsburg, which says; among other things:

"It is known among employes of the United States Steel Corporation that with the ending of the scale year next June 30, the concern will refuse in the future to deal with organized labor. This plan has received the endorsement of the steel corporation directors. H. C. Frick, who has assumed control since the absence of Charles M. Schwab and Mr. Morgan, is credited with the plan.

"The present year has been selected because of the continued dullness in the domestic steel trade. Preparations for the fight have been going on since the beginning of the year. Wherever it is possible for the steel corporation to make material and stock, to be supplied to the market during the fight against unionism, it is being done.

"Officers of the Amalgamated Association are aware of what is coming. The granting of concessions in wages in the pending fight they know will not benefit them, as Mr. Frick and the Rockefellers will not deal with labor unions.

"As a result of the impending strike, the American Tin and Sheet Company is operating more than two hundred tin plate mills day and night. Scarcely any of the production is being sold. It is being piled in warehouses in Pittsburg, New Castle, Sharon, Pa.; Anderson, Elwood, and Gas City, Ind., and Wheeling, W. Va., and a few other points. At New Castle, after filling the warehouses, the storage houses of the American Steel and Wire Company are being filled with plate. The output of tin plates is about 225,000 boxes each week. Very little of this is being sold. A boom in tin plates is not anticipated. A dealer was questioned as to the demand and the possible resumption. He said that the steel corporation was making more tin plate and had enough stocked away to shut down their plants for three months, and supply their trade. The independent tin plate manufacturers are not operating, as there is no demand. The steel corporation has about eighty-eight of its mills closed down for repairs and for other reasons, but preparations are being made to start some of these in addition to those in operation.

"Members of the Amalgamated Association are exceedingly interested in the coming battle. They are watching with concern the filling of the warehouses. Last year they offered to accept a reduction of 25 per cent for work done on export tin plates. The stock was made up, but was not exported.

"There are only four non-union tin plate plants operated by the steel corporation. These are being run at a lower wage rate than the union plants, the reduction having been made the first of the year. The employes of the Demmler plant at McKeesport refused to accept the cut, but finally returned to work. The four non-union plants could not force the remaining union workingmen into line for a reduction or a disorganization, hence the fact that a stock of plates to carry the tin plate company over six or seven months is expected to starve the tin plate workers out and compel them to return to work as non-unionists."

It is not improbable that other organizations will be drawn into this struggle in self-defense for the reason that if the Amalgamated Associa-

tion is wiped out the Frick-Rockefeller policy will surely spread to other trades. Indeed, the molders and machinists of Pennsylvania have obtained information that the employers' associations have practically decided to begin a campaign for the "open shop." The Allis-Chalmers Company has announced that unions would not be recognized with the expiration of present scales, and the Westinghouse bosses are compelling employees to sign individual agreements. The blast furnace workers are also to be forced to give up their unions. Besides these impending labor battles the Parry machine and independent associations and alliances in various parts of the country are almost daily declaring against "union domination." The building trades contractors of Pennsylvania and New York recently held a conference, and, after congratulating President Roosevelt for beginning the "open shop" movement in the government printing office in Washington, adopted plans to destroy the trade unions and blacklist workingmen who went on strike. The cement workers of New Jersey have been given notice that they must recognize the sacredness of the "open shop," the shingle weavers of the west are fighting the same principle, as are also the thousands of glove workers in Fulton county, New York. The carriage and wagon workers of Chicago, the metal polishers in the same city, and machinists and other unionists in Fox River valley are engaged in struggles to save their organizations. In Montana the lines have been sharply drawn between the unions and the employers' alliances, and blacklisting and boycotting is being carried into every business. The Michigan State Federation has issued a special circular letter calling attention to the activity of the organized bosses in that state, and in Detroit the capitalists in the manufacturing and building industries declare openly, that the trade unions will be recognized no longer. Boiler manufacturers along the lakes are preparing for a fight.

In the building trades in New York the new arbitration scheme has proven unsatisfactory to both sides and a fight all along the line may start almost any day, while the Philadelphia contractors have given notice that the first sympathetic strike inaugurated will be the signal for a general lockout. In Pittsburg the sympathetic strike of the building workers to aid the plumbers has been lost, while the national strike of the bridge and structural iron workers against the "open shop" policy of the Iron League and Fuller Company is still in progress. The flint glass workers have ordered a national strike. The Pacific Express Company has begun a war of extermination in that line of business by giving notice to employees that to join a union will be considered tantamount to resigning from the service. Many local strikes and lockouts are also being waged, and there is every indication that the number will be increased with the approach of spring. It begins to look as though the class struggle will become plainer from day to day, and be fought with greater determination by both sides than ever before. The final result will not be hard to predict. Labor will naturally attempt to strengthen its position through political action. The present rapid growth of the Socialist party proves that much.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company. By James Howard Bridge. The Aldine Book Company. Cloth, 369 pp., \$2.00.

This is a popular edition of a work which was circulated in *de luxe* form a few months ago, and attracted very much attention in the press at that time. It is tacitly understood that the work was written at the instance of H. C. Frick as revenge for the eort of Carnegie to crowd Frick out of the Carnegie Steel Company. As a consequence, there is a large amount of material published which would otherwise never have seen the light.

While the author writes from a distinctively capitalist point of view, nevertheless the thieves have fallen out enough so that "honest men" may learn many things that they would otherwise never have known.

The following, for example, from the preface admits something socialists have always alleged, but which popular writers ordinarily deny: "The conventional history of the concern, based on benevolent aphorisms and platitudinous maxims about thrift, industry, genius, and super-commercial morality, has been written a hundred times, and will probably be written again and again.

"The Carnegie Steel Company, as will be seen from this narrative, is not the creation of any man, nor indeed of any set of men. It is a natural evolution; and the conditions of its growth are of the same general character as those of the 'flower in the crannied wall.' Andrew Carnegie has somewhere said, in effect: 'Take away all our money, our great works, ore mines, and coke ovens, but leave our organization, and in four years I shall have re-established myself.' He might have gone a step further and eliminated himself and his organization; and in less than four years the steel industry would have recovered from the loss. This is not the popular conception of industrial evolution, which demands captains, corporals, and other heroes; but it accords with evolutionary conceptions in general."

Considered as the tracing of the greatest and most fundamental of industries, the work is by no means an unimportant contribution to industrial history. The first forge from which this great industry arose was erected by the Kloran brothers in 1858. In 1859 Henry Phipps, who has remained with the firm until the present time, took an interest. Carnegie did not enter the business until 1865, by which time it had become of considerable importance.

In this connection, it is worth while to note the importance of the Civil War in building up this industry, as it did hundreds of others: "Then the War broke out and axles which had been selling for 2 cents jumped to 12 cents a pound, and when it came to filling government orders for parts of gun carriages, there was no limit to prices for quick delivery."

In 1867 the firm took a hand in importing contract laborers for the

purpose of breaking up the first signs of a trade union. The first consolidation of rival mills took place in 1865, and in 1867 one of the imported German laborers invented a machine of which the writer says: "It was worth millions of dollars to the firm that imported him to take the place of a striker. As for Zimmer himself his reward was a well-paid position as foreman of the mill he erected and of its improved successors."

In 1875 the first steel rails were made in America, although Bessemer steel had been manufactured for some little time before that, and at once the whole iron and steel industry received a tremendous impetus. The Homestead Steel Works was first incorporated in 1879 and was acquired by the Carnegie Company in 1883. Iron and steel began to be of importance in architecture with the building of skyscrapers in the late '80s, and this gave another impetus to the growth of the industry. The beginning of the open hearth process in 1886 was another upward step and the consolidation through the influence of H. C. Frick in 1892 brought the industry down to something near its present form.

The story of the consolidation of ore properties, steamship and railroad lines, and the final combination of all in the United States Steel Company, has been told so fully that the author is unable to add little to the popular knowledge on this subject, save in pointing out some of the details of the fight between Frick and Carnegie.

Some of the methods of exploitation which were used by the Carnegie companies are interesting. Many times we are told about the racing of the furnaces which was kept up by the sending of a new broom to the furnace which had made the best record during the month, forcing superintendents and men to almost superhuman exertions.

The real object of the book, however, is to show how little a part Andrew Carnegie really had in building up the industry, and this is shown beyond a doubt. Over and over again evidence is brought forward to prove that Carnegie's usual method of acquiring wealth was to inveigle his partners into signing a contract which would enable him to swindle them out of what they had placed in the firm, or at least to make use of their money and their abilities until the industry had grown to a point where they were beginning to expect great returns, and then crowd them out.

The author takes particular delight in showing how utterly false are Carnegie's claims of having been the inventor or introducer of iron bridges and the Bessemer steel industry into America. So far as the relation of laborers to the industry is concerned, the writer maintains a strictly capitalist point of view.

He does expose, with abundance of proof, the hypocritical attitude of Carnegie, who while secretly giving orders to fight the trade unions in all possible ways, was publishing hypocritical articles on the text, "Thou shalt not take thy brother's job."

One cut in the work gives the impression that perhaps the artist might have had a strong sense of the humorous, or else some trade union sympathies. The picture is supposed to show a scab shooting a striker "in self-defense," but the illustration shows the scab shooting an unarmed man in the back. Probably this is truer to fact than the text.

The work is filled with information on the wonderful productive power of modern machinery and the consequent enormous profits to the owners of the industry.

The Psychology of Child Development. By Irving King, with an introduction by John Dewey. The University of Chicago Press. Cloth, 265 pp., \$1.00.

This work approaches the study of child development from the standpoint of modern psychology. It points out that few things have been

more detrimental than the attitude of the old "faculty" psychology which assumed that the child is possessed of certain distinct mental faculties or powers that not only develop but also function independently.

In opposition to this is set the position that the early experience of the child is of an undifferentiated character, that the so-called kinds of mental "powers" and activities are differentiated from the original general consciousness and further that the differentiation has arisen to meet the child's demand for greater and more complex activity. This introduces the question of the relation of stimulus, and it is shown that the necessity of controlling a stimulus forms the essential basis for all mental differentiation.

Child psychology, it is held, should be approached from the functional point of view and its aim should be the examination of the child's experience and the determining of how and why the various mental functions arise. Due emphasis is laid upon bodily activity as the starting point in the study of the infant.

The former experience of an individual, in the case of both an adult and a child, is of fundamental importance in determining what interpretation will be made of a given object. In considering the child with his relatively limited experience this fact must be taken into account in deciding what meaning any new experience will have to him.

After tracing the differentiation of experience and the process of its growth and enrichment, the subjects of inhibition, imitation, etc., are more particularly dwelt on. In discussing inhibition it is shown that an act is not checked by any mysterious force or "flat," but that this is only accomplished through a change of situation enabling a new act to appear and displace the old. This position is different from and far more logical than that of Preyer and various other students of child psychology.

The book then discusses the relation of this standpoint to the work of the teacher. It changes the teacher's interest from the question of "By what process is knowledge acquired?" to "Under what circumstances do these processes begin to act and what office do they perform in the development and elaboration of experience?" The emphasis is put upon experience as a whole, its evolution and its relation to the necessities of action.

This work is of much value to the student of psychology and to every teacher. It defines educational psychology as a social psychology and is representative of the tendency to base educational theory upon social conditions. It does not claim to present new material, but it is rather a new interpretation of well known facts concerning the child. M. W. S.

The Organization and Control of Industrial Corporations. By Frank Edward Horack. Published by C. F. Taylor, 1520 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. Paper, 207 pp., 25 cents.

This work consists largely of a compilation of matter from various sources relating to methods of control of corporations and particularly of the great industrial organizations such as have appeared during the last few years. It is filled with a great mass of facts as to the legislation of the various states and of the national government. It is thoroughly indexed and has a fairly elaborate bibliography, although this is very much inferior to the bibliography accompanying the report of the Industrial Commission which the author had at his disposal, had he made use of it. Throughout the work the orthodox position is taken that concentration is a pathological condition for which remedies must be studied and he suggests many of these. The portion on publicity tells what efforts have been made in this direction by different legislative bodies both in this country and in England, France and Germany. For any one who wishes to understand the legal aspects of trusts and who wishes to find his in-

formation stated in a popular manner, this is by far the best work in existence.

Die positive kriminalistische Schule in Italien. By Enrico Ferri. Paper, 64 pp., 1.20 M. Translated from the Italian by E. Müller-Röder. Neuer Frankfurter Verlag.

This little work, which consists of three lectures by Ferri before some Geneva students, is an extremely valuable study. The first lecture takes up the historical evolution of the positive school of criminology of Italy and describes the steps that have been taken by different writers in succession. The last two lectures explain in a condensed form the theories of that school.

This school of criminology is contrasted with the classic school which represents the ordinary position held by judges and the populace in general throughout the capitalist world. The keynote of the distinction lies in the fact that the classic school considers criminology simply with regard to the relation between the *crime* and *legislation*, while the new positive school looks rather upon the relation between the *criminal* and *society*. The criminal is treated as a product of anthropological, physical and social factors. These are analyzed to show the causes that brought about the commission of the crime. The criminal is then studied with relation to the best manner of treating him for his personal benefit and social utilization. Society is examined to determine in how far the social regulations are responsible for criminal actions and how these can be altered.

It is hoped that a translation of this may be made into English at an early day as it would be of great value for socialist propaganda and educational purposes.

Socialisme de Gouvernement et Socialisme Revolutionnaire. By Charles Rappoport. Paper, 69 pp., 10 cents. Published by Parti Ouvrier Francais, 7 Rue Rodier, Paris.

We have read a great many controversial pamphlets on the Millem and situation, but it seems to us that this one is of very exceptional value. It not only sets forth the issues which are in dispute in a very clear and concise manner, but it does what very few such pamphlets are able to do, it at the same time presents much that is of value to socialist philosophy.

We shall probably at some later day translate a portion of it which is especially apropos to conditions in America.

The Decline of British Industry; its Cause and Remedy. By T. H. Rothstein. Twentieth Century Press. London. Paper, 76 pp., 6d.

No more thorough exposure of the incapacity of a ruling class to perform its function could be given than is set forth in this pamphlet concerning the British capitalist. The utter stupidity and antiquated character of the conduct of British industry is explained at length. It shows that decline of British industry so far from being due to the hostile tariffs of other countries, or the free trade of England, is due to the fact that the English capitalist class has outgrown its usefulness.

PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The April number of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW will be a "Convention Number," devoted almost exclusively to the discussion of subjects that will probably come before the national convention. In this way it is hoped that a better understanding may be had of these questions, not only among the delegates, but throughout the party membership. At the same time the work of the convention can be expedited, and time economized by such previous discussion.

Letters have been sent to Comrades Debs, Wanhope, Will, Slobodin, Mailly, Massey, Titus, Stedman, Ricker, Hillquit, Wilshire, Berger, Unter-mann, Dobbs, Dalton, Hoehn and others, asking them to prepare a short article covering the points raised by the following questions, which include all the more important subjects that will occupy the attention of the convention:

1. What changes do you think are necessary in the party organization?
2. What, if any, action should be taken towards setting forth a working program for such members as may be elected to office within a capitalist government? Should such a program be attached to the platform, embodied in a separate and explanatory document, or entirely omitted?
3. Have you any suggestion as to methods of controlling those who represent the Socialist Party on the public platform?
4. What action, if any, should be taken towards securing uniformity of action by Socialists elected to municipal positions?
5. Should there be any special expression of our attitude towards the farmers or negroes? If so, what?
6. Should the present "trade union resolution" stand? If not, how should it be changed?

This number of the REVIEW will not only be of value as an exhaustive discussion of Socialist problems, but it will be of especial importance to the party membership just at this time. As a help in understanding the questions to be settled at the convention it will be invaluable. For any local intending to instruct its delegates this number will be almost a necessity for intelligent action. It will give a forecast of the arguments that will be offered, the differences that will arise, and the ideas that will be presented. For the comrades who cannot attend the convention, but who wish

to make their influence felt through the party press or by consultation with their delegates it will be indispensable. It will be out nearly a month before the convention, thus permitting time for action of any kind thought desirable, and enabling the influence of the entire rank and file to be clearly felt, something the importance of which every Socialist will understand.

Every local should order enough to supply each one of its members. Every one will want it.

Price 10 cents a copy; to locals that are not stockholders, 7 cents a copy; to stockholders, 5 cents a copy. These prices include postage and are for cash with order. We can not afford to print more copies than are paid for.

THE SOCIALIZATION OF HUMANITY.

Charles H. Kerr & Co., 56 Fifth avenue, Chicago, announce for early publication a philosophical work by Charles Kendall Franklin, entitled: "The Socialization of Humanity"; an Analysis and Synthesis of Nature, Life, Mind and Society through the Law of Repetition. A System of Monistic Philosophy. To quote the first sentence of the preface, "The object of this investigation is to trace physical, organic and social phenomena to their sources in order to discover their laws, so that the subsequent expenditure of energy in nature, life, mind and society may be determined for human welfare." This is what the book attempts, and in a large measure accomplishes.

The author shows in plain, simple language that all nature is passing through a process in the expenditure of energy along the line of least resistance; that following the Law of Repetition, there are four forms of this great Law of Motion developed: First, as in physical nature, where the line of least resistance is determined by blind conflict; second, as in organic nature, where it is determined by instincts and ideas; third, as in the individual man or woman, where it is determined by the moral sense; and fourth, as in society, where it is determined by the social sense; that each of these methods of the expenditure of energy is a new law of motion which is a more economical method of expending energy than the other preceding it, and that the perfect economic expenditure of all energy can only be attained by the socialization of the race, an end to which the universal process in the expenditure of energy in nature tends, and which will ultimately and inevitably be attained by the factors now at work.

In morality the work shows the inadequacy of Christianity as a race-religion and establishes in its place the religion of morality, which is destined to last so long as the race exists. In philosophy it shows that heretofore we have understood things only allegorically; that the great idea of God is only a symbol for the race; that all our hopes, aspirations and longings for a wider, deeper, fuller and purer life are to be realized here on earth in the socialization of humanity, with the perfect expenditure of all energy, and not in a dream-life beyond the grave. It suggests a solution of the ultimate metaphysical problem of knowledge by tracing the origin

of mind from inorganic nature, showing that external energies produce the senses, that the senses produce the intellect, that the intellect is only a developed form of the external energies producing it and is identical with them; that man is only a developed form of all the energies of nature and thus knows the ultimate nature of things by identifying them with his own being. It traces the kinship of chemism, will, love and religion, showing that one is a developed form of the other with similar functions, resulting in similar phenomena; and that a continuity in all nature is thus established. It shows that plants and animals, the differences of the sexes, the functions of order and progress in society are due to a division of labor in the blind expenditure of energy in nature and society. It shows that capitalism is only one of many forms of producing property which humanity has adopted while passing through its evolution from primitive democracy to social democracy, and that individualism will inevitably be supplanted by the socialism of the race, which will result in the perfect expenditure of all energy through verifiable, public, corporate knowledge. It reconciles religion with science, freedom with necessity, responsibility with autonomy, and eliminates all of the heartrending contradictions of theology in its monistic explanation of good and evil.

The publishers present this work to their readers as an exposition and development of the general theory of evolution rather than of historical materialism, which, however, the author accepts by implication, if he is not rigorously consistent in applying it.

The writer's style is eloquent, his absolute sincerity is manifest, and his book will be of immense service to those who have realized the inadequacy of conventional religion and philosophy to explain the facts of life, and who wish to examine vital questions from the viewpoint of modern science.

The work is complete in one large octavo volume of 500 pages, printed and bound by union labor. The paper is of extra quality, and the binding tasteful and substantial. The price, including prepayment of expressage to any address, will be \$2.00; to stockholders, \$1.20, by mail or express, prepaid; \$1.00 by express at purchaser's expense.

AMERICAN PAUPERISM AND THE ABOLITION OF POVERTY.

This important work by Isador Ladoff will be ready for delivery within a few days after this issue of the REVIEW reaches its readers. It is at once an educational and a propaganda work; it will be found to contain new and important information such as will be welcomed by the best informed writers and speakers on socialism, while on the other hand his charming literary style and forcible exposure of the crimes of capitalism will cause the book to be read with intense interest by those who have never before opened a socialist book. One feature in particular will be welcomed by thousands of readers. Comrade Ladoff has with great labor and marked ability analyzed the figures of the census of 1900, in a way to bring out the information buried there as to how the American laborer is robbed of the fruits of his toil.

"American Pauperism" is the ninth volume in the Standard Socialist

Series, and although it contains 240 pages, more than any previous volume in the series, it is sold at the same low prices; 50 cents by mail to any address, 30 cents by mail to a stockholder of Charles H. Kerr & Co., 25 cents to a stockholder when sent by express at purchaser's expense.

THE PASSING OF CAPITALISM.

This earliest book by Comrade Ladoff attracted wide attention among the socialists of America at the time of its first appearance, and while the author's views on some topics were sharply challenged, all agreed in commending his brilliant literary style. We have concluded an arrangement with the Standard Publishing Company, who brought out the book, by which we shall hereafter be enabled to offer it to our stockholders at the same discounts as if published by ourselves. The retail price, in cloth binding, is 50 cents.

OBJECTORS TO SOCIALISM ANSWERED.

This a new propaganda pamphlet, by Charles C. Hitchcock, just published by Charles H. Kerr & Co. A considerable number of the most common arguments against socialism are taken up in detail, and answered in a very satisfactory fashion. The book is well printed in large type on extra paper, and makes 32 pages of a size considerably larger than the Pocket Library of Socialism. The retail price is five cents, but the lowest price to stockholders is \$2.50 a hundred by mail, or \$2.00 a hundred by express.